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ABSTRACT

The first of a series of collections of papers, this volume consists of seven articles. Included in the volume are the following articles: "New Directions for Employment Counselling," by Andre Paquin; "Decision-Counselling Research and Practice: A New Start," by R. V. Peavy; "Pragmatic Counselling: Working with Clients and Situations as They Actually Are," by R. V. Peavy; "Career Development Processes and Interventions: A Prescription for the Guidance Machine," by David V. Tiedeman; "Towards a Model of Career Adaptation: A Review of the Literature on Adult Development and Its Implications for Career Adaptation," by Heather Hopwood; "The Identification of the Importance of Work," by M. Catherine Casserly; and "Changing Global Scene and Its Implications for Planning Personal Futures," by Fred G. Thompson. (MN)

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Preface

The National Consultations on Vocational Counselling are intended to provide a face-to-face discussion among practitioners, researchers, administrators and policy makers. As an interchange it functions well but the delegates represent less than one percent of those actually engaged in the development and provision of vocational guidance services.

Many of those who have not attended have requested copies of the papers presented, and to meet this wider need it was decided to publish most of the papers presented at the National Consultation on Employment Counselling Research (December 1, 2, 3, 1981) and the National Consultation of Vocational Counselling (January 26, 27, 28, 1982). Future issues of this series will present papers delivered at the 1983 National Consultation Vocational Counselling (to be held January 25, 26 and 27) and also a few significant papers developed by or for the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. Additionally, contributed papers that will serve to advance the practice of vocational counselling will be welcome.

D. Stuart Conger

New Directions for Employment Counselling

André Paquin

Director

Employment Counselling Division

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Employment and Immigration Commission

I would like to take this opportunity to review with you the past, present and future situation of employment counselling in Canada. This review will focus on the application of employment counselling in the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, as it is generally recognized that the majority of employment counselling activities carried on in Canada take place within the CEIC.

I assume that since you are all involved in employment counselling research, problems in the labour market are not new to you. The most pressing are as follows:

- a) the rate of unemployment is very high;
- b) employers are having difficulty in finding enough skilled workers to maintain a high level of production;
- c) it is extremely difficult for young people to get jobs; this situation is going to continue, although it may improve slightly in the future;
- d) the number of women in the labour force has been growing over the last few years, and this trend is expected to increase during the eighties, with adult women accounting for two-thirds of labour market entrants;
- e) some groups (women, the disabled and natives) are often discriminated against in hiring practices and receive lower wages than other workers for the same work.

The federal government and the provincial governments have developed a wide range of programs and services designed to help workers and improve the labour market situation. The objectives of these programs, which were begun about fifteen years ago, or, to be more specific, after the old Department of Manpower and Immigration was created, may be described in broad terms as to:

- 1. improve training for workers;
- 2. encourage workers to be more mobile;
- 3. create employment in certain areas or certain sectors of the economy;

-
4. promote co-operation between the private sector and the federal government;
 5. reduce discrimination practices against certain groups of workers (women, the disabled and natives).

Of course the government must intervene to deal with the changing labour market situation, even if the action it takes is often criticized. At the very least, as pointed out in the recently published Dodge report — "Labour Market Development in the 1980s" —, the percentage of unemployment is reduced somewhat and public funds are distributed among those who are most in need.

However, one major problem which has not been alleviated at all, is that at the CEC level the full responsibility for operating this sophisticated mechanism, which was designed to impact on and improve the labour market, falls on the shoulders of some 3,000 individuals known as Employment Counsellors (PM2s). They are the ones who are expected to perform incredible feats. It is their job to receive clients, try to analyse their employment problems and to help them select from all the solutions available at a given time the one that seems best suited to their needs.

Twelve or so years ago, Employment Counsellors were known as placement officers. Their job was much simpler in those days: part of it was to get to know one group of employers well, make frequent visits and take note of vacancies; their other function was to receive clients and refer them to appropriate employers.

Shortly after the authorities recognized that a more forceful intervention, in the way of programs, was needed to impact on the labour market, employees' interventions with worker-clients were identified as a major area for improvement. Accordingly, employment counselling was introduced and placement officer positions were converted to employment counsellor positions. University teachers were hired on contract to give short training sessions on communication techniques and the Rogerian approach. That was not much — not nearly enough!

At the beginning of the seventies, employment counselling was very popular and nearly everyone was satisfied with the new service. In addition, Employment Counsellors felt their job was worthwhile.

However, as time went on, administrators became less and less certain that interviews with clients, often very long and therefore costly, were really improving their employment situation and their capabilities for obtaining satisfactory placement.

A number of problems developed — and they are still with us. Four problem areas that stand out are:

1. *The concept of "employment counselling"*

The term "employment counselling" has been and unfortunately still is used to describe all kinds of interviews. For example, counselling is confused with information-giving. The quality of the counselling is judged by the length of the interview. In fact, so many ideas about what was meant by counselling developed in our organization that we were thoroughly confused — and still are. The recent Dodge report — "Labour Market Development in the 1980s" — introduces terms and concepts related to counselling which again are not clearly defined.

2. *Availability of counselling*

Despite the fact that there are four hundred or so CECs in Canada, one might expect a fair degree of uniformity in the client counselling services available. However, they are not uniform enough. Administrators' ideas about the value and usefulness of the counselling services vary enormously, and the amount of resources they allocate to counselling services varies accordingly. For instance, in some parts of Canada, regional directors have hired university trained specialists to provide Employment Counsellors with professional support; other directors have seen no need for this.

Even in regions where specialists were hired, because of administrative changes and unfulfilled expectations about counselling, there was sometimes great confusion about their role and doubt about the specialist's usefulness.

3. *Evaluation of counselling services*

In all these years we have not succeeded in developing a method to satisfactorily measure the effectiveness of counselling services. Nowadays resources cost so much — and time is money — that no administrator wants to invest in a service when he knows nothing about its results.

We are in the process of developing a system for measuring counselling effectiveness, but it will take some time to set up mechanisms that will set administrators' minds at rest about the cost effectiveness of the services.

4. *The Employment Counsellor's job*

A number of factors have made the Employment Counsellor's job more difficult during the last few years. Clients' problems have become more complex and other services (for example, medical services) have improved and become more accessible. The Commission has developed more sophisticated tools expressly to help counsellors, and has introduced more programs which have to be implemented according to various criteria.

Unfortunately, Employment Counsellors have not been provided with adequate assistance to meet the increased demands made on them. Training has not kept pace with the increasing complexity of their work, and does not

properly meet the requirements of the job today. In addition to inadequate training, there are other problems that interfere with effective performance:

- the physical environment is designed for quite different activities and is not suitable for a counselling relationship;
- there are many more chances of advancement in program administration or supervision than in counselling. It is therefore more logical — or more to the Employment Counsellor's advantage — to develop knowledge and skills in the management rather than the counselling field.

All these difficulties we have had, and are still experiencing, have led to serious doubts about the value of employment counselling. This is evident from the incredible time it has taken for us to obtain an official policy on the subject. Over four years ago we realized that counselling should be backed up by a firm, clear and comprehensive policy. We therefore began what turned out to be a veritable "marathon" of proposals and consultations with senior management at the national and regional levels and with the union representing employees in Canada Employment Centres.

It has taken more than three years to have this policy approved by the top levels in the Commission. That is an indication of the confusion and ambiguity that has surrounded the counselling services as well as the diversity of opinion about, even opposition to implementing them effectively.

The documentation you have received for this conference includes a copy of the policy approved by the Commission. I would like to mention a few of the most important points:

- 1.employment counselling services must be provided for all clients who need *and* are willing to receive them;
- 2.employment counselling services must be offered to clients only if the goal (short, medium or long term) is satisfactory placement, that is, the client's integration into the labour market;
- 3.counsellors must possess the capabilities required for performing this function; they must therefore receive the appropriate training;
- 4.the effectiveness of the employment counselling services must be measurable.

If you read the policy document carefully, you will see that it contains the Commission's sub-policies and definitions of the types of interviews that can be included in a relationship between a Commission employee and a worker-client and between a Commission employee and an employer-client. You will also see a section regarding the relationship of employment counselling to some of the CEIC's major programs and services.

I would now like to talk to you about the five measures which have been approved to operationalize the adopted policy:

1) *Employment counselling tools*

Several employment counselling tools have been developed by the CEIC and are used in our centres, and also in outside agencies and institutions. Some are related to *information* (ie Careers Provinces, Careers Canada, CCDO and so on), others to *evaluation* (GATB/BGTA, COII/ICIP, typing and shorthand dictation tests) or to *career choices* (ie CHOICES, Index to Occupations, and so on). The Commission intends to continue developing and improving on these tools; however, in regard to their implementation, two areas will receive special attention:

- a) counsellors will receive better training so that they can use the tools wisely;
- b) counsellors will be provided with more professional support so that they can make the most of the tools.

We do not foresee any major difficulty in implementing this policy measure. Already a training module on counselling methods and tools has been developed and tested in two regions in Canada.

2) *Employment Counselling Organizational Structure*

When you think of the time it takes for Employment Counsellors to become really effective and productive on the job, it is inconceivable that their best chance for promotion should lie in giving up their counselling duties for those of supervisor or program manager.

Proposals are under review for an organizational structure that would allow some Employment Counsellors to improve their skills and make a longer career in employment counselling. One solution would seem to be to define the duties and provide the Commission with additional positions such as:

- a) Employment Counsellors to work with specific groups of clients and maintain the appropriate liaison;
- b) professionals to provide support for Employment Counsellors;
- c) supervisors and evaluators for the counselling services.

There is still a great deal of work to be done in this highly sensitive area. However, decisions about the structure of an organization with 26,000 employees are expected to have a tremendous impact, since the very foundation is affected. Changes that are made could therefore have a significant impact on employment counselling for a long time.

3) *Employment Counselling Training*

A training program has been developed to improve our Employment Counsellors' counselling skills. This is a competence-based program which

means that:

- a) the knowledge and skills required are explicitly defined and approved by specialists in the subject;
- b) Employment Counsellors must show that they have reached a certain level of proficiency according to the predetermined standards;
- c) evaluation instruments are used to measure Employment Counsellors' performance against standards.

It has not yet been decided whether successful participants will receive a certificate. Consultation with the union is still going on. There are eight modules in the program, each consisting of three parts: (1) between twenty-five and fifty hours of self-study in which Employment Counsellors learn the theory; (2) a group training session (five to ten days) on practical application of the skills; (3) an evaluation of the knowledge and skills acquired to see how much has been assimilated.

The eight modules are:

1. The assessment interview;
2. Individual employment counselling interventions;
3. Group employment counselling interventions;
4. Employment counselling, placement, accountability and productivity;
5. Employment counselling and the use of community resources;
6. Employment counselling for target groups;
7. The use of tests in employment counselling;
8. Methods and materials of employment counselling.

We have already developed one training module, which deals with the use of tests in employment counselling. It focuses on competence and a certificate in testing is awarded. This means that only Employment Counsellors who pass the examinations (written and practical) are authorized to use the tests in their helping relationship with clients. At present we have approximately 1,400 Employment Counsellors who hold a certificate in testing. The employment counselling training program is expected to be fully operational in five or six years.

4) The Employment Counselling Guide

We have decided to develop an Employment Counselling Guide to be a standard reference source on counselling services in our organization.

The Guide will describe the characteristics and activities of employment counselling, define employment counselling terminology and provide information on counselling tools and how they are used in the CECs. It should be published within a year.

5) Evaluation of Employment Counselling Services

Our objective is to implement a comprehensive information system which will enable us to evaluate the types of outcomes achieved with specific

types of clients as a result of specific types of intervention. The proposed system covers three broad areas: input measurement, process measurement and output measurement. So far, most of our work has been done on measuring output, that is, counselling results. We have developed tools which have been tested in Quebec and should be implemented in part of the province early in 1982. We are confident that we will come up with a system which will measure counselling effectiveness and which will be operationally feasible for our organization. The system as a whole should enable:

- a) managers to take better informed decisions to improve counselling effectiveness,
- b) counselling consultants to help Employment Counsellors more with their development, and
- c) Employment Counsellors to have a better understanding of the impact of their interventions with clients.

The system should be in place within three years. We anticipate having clear proof of the benefits clients can gain from counselling, instead of having to convince people that the services are worth while.

I hope that this outline has given you an idea of the measures we have undertaken. Our future commitment to them in terms of human and financial resources will be considerable.

Decision-Counselling Research and Practice: A New Start

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One day a priest came upon an old hermit who was on his hands and knees pawing through the dust under the hot midday sun. They exchanged the following words:

Priest: Tell me old man, why are you pawing through the dust in this hot sun?

Hermit: Father, I have lost the key to my treasure chest.

Priest: You lost your key out here in the dust?

Hermit: Oh no, Father, I lost my key in my cave.

Priest: Then in the name of heaven, why are you looking for your key here in the dust rather than there in your cave where you lost it?

Hermit: Because, Father, there is more light out here.

In this essay I attempt to show that counselling research, and to some degree, counselling practice, is in a position similar to that of the Hermit in the parable. A good deal of counselling research is going on (for the key to counselling success) but, alas the research is in the wrong region although very good reasons are given for researching there.

In one way or another, I have been associated with the practice of counselling for three decades. By the end of the second decade I had reached a point where I felt very well informed about counselling. I had learned the various "theories" of counselling, I had mastered many of the "techniques" of counselling and at least "knew of" the full range of techniques thus far invented. I had done some research on counselling topics, I had practised as a counsellor in a variety of counselling jobs. In short, I was fully socialized as a counsellor, or as I then preferred to be called, as a counselling psychologist. This preference was at least understandable, since I had gone through extensive psychological training, and was, in addition to being a counsellor, also licensed as a psychologist.

However, by the end of the second decade of my biography as a counsellor, I had become increasingly dissatisfied. The dissatisfaction I had come to feel can be expressed by certain questions: Why is so much of the research in counselling imitative of classical psychological research? Why are group difference methods of research and various statistical methods of determining significance so widely used—one might even say “required”—that is, if one desires to have research reports published? Why has counselling adopted psychology as its mentor? Aren’t people as much social as psychological? Why do virtually all counselling researchers study “behaviours” rather than “actions”? Do persons “act” or emit behaviours? If psychology is to guide counselling, and if the goal of psychological enquiry in the strict sense is to establish general or universal laws of behaviour, and if so far no such laws had been established, what kind of a guide has psychology turned out to be? I did not doubt the validity of counselling as a necessary social practice in contemporary society. Nor did I doubt that quite a lot is known about what is useful and what is not useful in the conduct of counselling. None-the-less, I became convinced that counselling theory and research, by imitating psychological theory and research had, in large part, gone wrong.

In 1973/74 I had a sabbatical leave. I decided to devote most of my time to studying and thinking about the issues which had arisen from my dissatisfaction. By this time I was convinced that counselling is a widely established social practice useful in guiding *individuals* in decision-making, problem-solving and relationship building in *everyday* life. Further, I understood that counsellors tend to focus on two phenomena. First, how can I, as a counsellor, gain a useful understanding of this *particular person* including his acts and his meanings? Second, how do individuals gain their identities and develop competencies through *exchanges* with others? In other words, the counsellor must recognize that each individual is both a *personal* being and a *social* being. What people *are*, what they *learn*, and their difficulties and solutions all rest upon these two basic phenomena: man is simultaneously *personal* and *social*. Now, how can psychology with its probability statements help me gain an understanding of the particulars of an individual and his situation which will aid me as a counsellor to render perspicuous an individual’s actions and meanings in the context of his life situation? The conclusion which I came to as a result of my investigations was that most of psychology had practically nothing to offer me for the understanding of a *particular person*. If one is willing to accept that a scientific stance promises a *superior* view of human affairs, then scientific psychology contains such a promise although the actual fulfillment of such a promise is a long way off, if indeed it is ever to be fulfilled.

My studies during that year included a review of counselling research methods; forays into phenomenology—an area untouched in my formal edu-

cation and some study of research methods and theoretical orientations in anthropology and sociology. I thought that both of these disciplines might have useful knowledge for counselling researchers and practitioners. My own efforts during that year were informative but conclusive. I did develop grave doubts about the *psychologization of counselling*. As time permitted, subsequent to 1974, I studied on, convinced that one day I would begin to conceive of a solution to my dissatisfactions.

Rightly or wrongly, since its inception counselling has relied much on psychology for concepts, data, and methods of research and rather little upon other human sciences—such as sociology and anthropology. Counselling as a *practice* has demonstrated an affinity with “clinical” psychology. As a *theoretical entity* counselling has drawn heavily from “developmental” psychology, psychology of “personality” and from the now more-or-less defunct psychology of “individual differences”. Counselling has also favoured the psychological subspecialities of psychometrics, measurement and testing. Counselling researchers have, in general, adopted quasi-experimental strategies, relying greatly on group difference methods of analysis.

By 1951 the various “psychological” influences on counselling had brought on the adoption of the title “Counselling Psychology” by Division 17 of the American Psychological Association. Three years later the APA journal, *The Journal of Counselling Psychology*, began publication. By the 1970s counselling was defined as a “psychology” i.e., counselling psychology, and was assigned three defined roles: the remedial, the preventive, and the educative (also known as developmental) (Whitely, 1980). Three issues of *The Counselling Psychologist* (1977, 1979, 1980) which is the official publication of Division 17 of APA were devoted to the “discipline” of counselling psychology. Whatever else one might conclude from reading these issues, there was no room for doubt that counselling was based on *psychological science*; in no article was any question raised about the efficacy of psychology as the patron saint for counselling.

I believe that I now understand (1) how counselling’s alliance with scientific psychology was, in large part, a wrong turn; and (2) how counselling can take a correction which will separate itself from the useless parts of psychological theory and research while retaining some parts which are very useful indeed. The correction required is large enough to warrant speaking of a “new start” as I implied in the title of this essay. The arguments and evidence which I rely on are complex and detailed in their entirety. I have worked them out in another longer paper. I am presenting the “bare-bones” position in this essay together with enough references to give the interested reader valuable leads for further study.

In the next portion I am going to give brief critiques of scientific psychology. These critiques argue that scientific psychology is not a satisfactory conceptual device for developing an *understanding* of the behaviour (actions) of particular individuals (which is what most counsellors must try to do most of the time). The critiques are not meant to apply to counselling except to the extent that counselling in research, theory and practice is identified with, or governed by, classical psychological concepts and research tactics.

In brief, the identification of counselling with psychology is widely accepted. This identification becomes suspect, however, if there are reasons to question whether or not all is well with psychology as a discipline—especially as a discipline which is useful in explaining how and why *particular* individuals do what they do in *specified* situations. I believe that a formula for guiding counsellors in their counselling efforts with clients can be formulated as follows:

“What counselling procedure, by *whom*, is most useful for this *particular* person, with this *specific* concern, at *this* time, under *these* circumstances?”

Psychological Images of Man and Their Functions in Counselling

One may discern three images of man which have inspired psychological research and counselling affairs as well. They are: the mechanical, the organic and the personal. Each of these contains several variations, which I will not discuss here except in the case of the personal.

The *mechanical* model has dominated the discipline of psychology, and to some extent, counselling, for a rather long time. The structure of the mechanical is made as explicit as possible, even culminating in mathematical models, models of artificial intelligence, the S-R paradigm and so on. Such models are built up from the observation of *behaviours* (events). The issue of agency (behavior's responsibility for behaviour) is carefully avoided. Mechanical theories do not provide for the concept of person, nor, in the main, for personal responsibility. This classical, scientific model—to which psychology largely adheres—has contributed many concepts to counselling; for example, trait and factors concepts, behavioural counselling concepts¹, testing technology, the vocational-fit approach to vocational counselling and much more.

The organic model presents the concept of organism and describes organisms as entities who only exist in exchange with their circumstances. Organic

models attempt to account for relations, exchanges and systems. Organic models are widely used in family counselling (systems approach) and marriage counselling. Organic models represent a definite advance over mechanical theories in their stress on relationships. However, they generally stop short of including the concept of "person" in their schemas.

The personal model of man is based on the premise that man's essential, defining characteristic is that he is *self-defining* (Chein, 1972). The personal model assumes that at base, social order is *negotiated* order (Strauss, 1978; Zartman, 1976). This view of social order is non-deterministic and is not strongly influenced by biological considerations. Rather, it assumes "that both social order and individuals arise in and through a process of ongoing negotiation about *who shall be whom* and *what order shall pertain*" (Gerson, E., 1976, 276). Social order includes not only institutions and organizations; smaller units such as families and gangs; and two-person relationships and social practices such as couples, friends, boss-worker, counsellor-client and doctor-patient, and so on. Social order does not "just happen"; it is the result of persons *acting*. All the ways which man lives are ways which man has devised and negotiated with others. Human history is a record of how people have changed as a result of their efforts. A person's biography is a record of how that person has developed and changed. It is in good part through efforts in negotiating with others that one determines *who one shall be*. Further, negotiating is the process which determines what actions are called for and who is responsible for those actions in most human situations. Counselling itself is one such negotiation process.

Fundamental to this view of social life is the assumption that we are not mechanisms, nor organisms, but *persons*. As MacMurray (1961, p. 46) puts it: "The nexus of relations which unite us in human society is not organic but personal". The personal image of man characterizes humans as *persons* capable of performing actions, capable of distinguishing who is responsible for what (most of the time). It also characterizes people as *social* beings in that "I" always requires "You" both as origin and as medium for growth; further that social life is invented by persons and altered by persons-in-action (negotiation). The personal cannot be regarded as *merely* organismic nor can persons be reduced to mechanisms nor *merely* organisms. Persons may contain mechanisms—at least in the physiological level—but they are not reducible to either *merely* mechanisms nor *merely* organisms. Persons inhabit an ontological space different from both mechanisms and organisms.

The personal image of man gives rise to various conceptual movements: two movements which are important to counselling may be broadly termed the *humanistic* and the *pragmatic*. The humanistic movement (in counselling) is associated with such figures as Maslow, Rogers, May and Jourard. This

movement is *utopian* in emphasis and stresses personal growth and self-actualization. Various counselling procedures and orientations have their root in this movement, most notably client-centered counselling. The humanistic movement, at present, is a curious mixture of humanistic tradition, utopian ideas, and psychology. So-called humanistic psychology remains largely dominated by scientific pretenses. What I have termed the *pragmatic* movement—which is inspired by the personal image of man—has not, to date, had much influence on counselling. It too is a mixture of various conceptual strands: phenomenology, ordinary language and “action” philosophies, critical and ethnogenic sociology. It is this movement which I will return to later in this paper, under the term “hermeneutic”.

Wrong Turns?

Preliminary Critique

Suppose that one day while in the locker room of the community rec center a friend of yours notices that another friend places his clothes in the same locker day after day unless, of course, the locker is already in use. The first friend turns to you and says “John always seems to go to the same locker. Why does he do that?” Now if you are a scientifically oriented psychologist you might reply in the following way. “What you are observing are behavioural events, which seem to be occurring in a pattern. We do not know the frequency with which this behaviour occurs in the general population. What you really want to know is can we identify those *variables* which will *predict* the occurrence of this behaviour at a level of significance beyond chance. Or to put it another way, can we apply laws of human behaviour which will explain the occurrence of this particular behaviour? The best way to proceed is to design a laboratory analogue experiment and see if we can isolate the significant variables here.”

Now you could probably get an SSHRC grant to carry out this study, especially if you rationalized your proposed study as important either to the economy or to national security. It is almost certain, however, that whatever findings you did arrive at through the wonders of ANOVA or multidimensional scaling, you would *not* be able to give a good account of *why* John uses the same locker over and over again.

Suppose, on the other hand, that instead of being a scientific psychologist, you are inquisitive, reflective, reasonably intelligent and possess a good share of what is called “common sense”, then you might say something like the fol-

lowing. "Well, I don't know why John uses the same locker every time although I do know why *I* use the same locker each time it's available. Let's ask him." By asking John you would find out that he used that particular locker in question because: (a) the floor is usually dry in front of it; (b) he likes a corner locker rather than one in the middle of a row; (c) this particular corner locker is one which he can see from the shower stalls so he can keep his eye on it while in the shower and thus doesn't have to worry about something being stolen even if he leaves it open while he showers; and (d) there is a wall hanger next to this locker where he can hang his wet coat when he has walked to the rec center in the rain and thus keep his other clothes from getting wet. Of course, you might have to use a bit of linguistic skill to get John to express his reasons for acting the way he does but if John talked to you this way then you would have a clear *understanding* of why John uses the particular locker, and you could now explain your understanding of John's actions to your other friend. There would be very little reason to doubt the accuracy of your *understanding*, that is, your account of why John acts the way he does with reference to the locker.

The wrong turn which psychology (and counselling, to the extent that counselling is held to be allied with psychology) has taken is an epistemological wrong turn. In counselling, what is required is an understanding of the *actions* of another person and what the other's *experience* is, and what *meanings* the other construes. In counselling the primary cognitive interest (Habermas, J., 1971) is *practical understanding* (hermeneutic) rather than *scientific control*. Thus, just as the old Hermit searches in the sunlight because since so much more light is shed there, psychology (and counselling) use a scientific orientation because, given enough time, money and experimentation, it promises ultimate explanation and control. However, also just as the Hermit chooses the wrong location in which to search, psychology (and counselling), for the most part, "researches" in the wrong epistemological domain for knowledge about individuals and the ways in which they enact their lives.

The three goals of scientific psychology have long been to predict, control and understand, with primary emphasis upon prediction. Understanding, when it comes, is in the form of causal explanation. Behaviour is "explained" to the extent that general laws of behaviour can be used to predict specific instances of behaviour. Understanding, in this sense, is a 'weak sister' goal as it is contingent upon prediction and control. This is an inadequate representation of understanding as required for counselling.

Understanding is a basic mode of being-in-the-world (Heidegger, 1962). It is a primary constituent of being a human being. From this primordial existential, understanding (as one means of cognizing) can be distinguished from

other possible means—such as explaining, for example. Understanding projects itself as possibilities. The development of understanding is called interpretation. “In interpretation, understanding does not become something different. It becomes itself” (Heidegger, 1962, p. 188). To interpret does *not* mean to acquire information about what is understood. It *does* mean the “working-out” of possibilities projected in understanding. Understanding as cognizing is a grasping of something as itself, that which it is, including its possibilities. To understand (or interpret) something (say, a person) as something else (say, variables) is a failure to understand it anymore. “All interpretation is grounded on understanding” (Heidegger, 1962, p. 195). That which is explicated through interpretation is *meaning*. To articulate meaning is to appropriate that which is understood. The steps of doing this are referred to as interpretation. The three factors which we are most directed toward in the mode of understanding are *experience*, *actions*, and *meaning*. It is my contention that these are the factors which counselling (in practice, research and theory) should attend to most fully.

The Cognitive Perspective: A Critique

Since much of the psychology of counselling concerns itself with cognitive considerations (I take cognitive to refer to a broad range of structures and processes within an individual’s mind which are held to play a major role in behaviour.) such as thinking, deciding, interests, attitudes, mental sets and so on, I will offer a brief critique of cognitive psychology as a case in point to suggest that contemporary psychology is being subjected to numerous critiques which should cause us to question whether or not it is a sound foundation for counselling or, at least, should it be the primary or *only* foundation upon which to base counselling.

Cognitivism is dominant in contemporary social, personality and social psychology. Cognitive psychology is a psychology of the subject rather than object. Generally, cognitivism holds that people respond to how *they define the situation* “out there”, and *not* to the objective properties of the “out there” situations. In lay terms, this is a psychology of “it all depends on your point of view”. The cognitive perspective has a long tradition, going back to the works of Kant and Descartes. In granting primacy to the structures of the knowing subject’s mind, Kant performed what can be called a *subjectivist reduction*. Descartes, illustrated by his famous formula: *cogito, ergo sum*, performed a second, *individualistic* reduction by granting primacy to the thinking and reasoning of the individual knower (Sampson, 1981). These reductions

came, in due course, to exert a heavy influence on psychology.

The most serious challenge to these reductions has come from Marxist thought (existence precedes essence) from the materialist analysis of ideology itself (Horkheimer, M., 1972; Habermas, J., 1971) and from a certain group of social psychologists (Harre, R., 1974; Ossorio, P., 1978; Gergen, K.J., 1978).

The subjectivist reduction emphasizes the importance of the knower's psychological states. Ideas, interests, cognitions, mental structures and processes are regarded as more important than social practices and structures. The individualist reduction *reduces* reality to the products of cognitive operations rather than products of situational (social-historical) constitution.

The combining of subjectivism and individualism into a coherent approach leads to a striving for clear and distinct mental forms ("correct" ideas, "clear cut" decisions, "true" perceptions) or cognitive processes. There is good reason to believe that the *cognitive perspective* is now a dominant fixture in modern social, personality, and developmental psychology (Cartwright, D., 1979). It seems to me that the cognitive perspective, together with the self-fulfillment perspective on personality (Rogers, C., 1959; Maslow, A.H., 1958) and with a certain existential contribution (self-responsibility, agency, authentic, autonomous, being-in-the-world) have combined to encapsulate counselling psychology in a firm conviction (value) that the first order of change is with individuals while situational changes are minimized. I will come back to this point later.

Ideology

Just as cognitive psychology is addressed to the ideas, thoughts, attitudes and values which people hold in their consciousness, so is *ideology*, although in a very different way from cognitivism. Ideology, like cognitivism, is concerned with people's ideas, thinking and cognizing. Unlike cognitivism, however, ideology goes beyond subjective individualism and attempts to ground thinking and reasoning in the very tasks and social practices of the groups to which individuals belong.

Ideology has two meanings. The first is in the sense of a *false consciousness*. This sense refers to a systematically distorted view of reality—a view of reality in which one group's interests are advanced over another's. Ideology is frequently used by those in power to conceal their "real" interests and advantages (Adorno, T.W., 1976). In Marxist analysis "ruling" ideas mask the interests of materially dominant groups (Billig, M., 1976; Marx, K., and Engels, F., 1970).

The second meaning of ideology refers to the *accurate* representation of the

consciousness of a group or era. In this sense, ideology as it reflects a particular socio-historical context, refers to a *true* consciousness as well as to a *false* consciousness as explained above. When we gain access to the subjective world view of persons, we are, at least potentially, gaining access to an accurate impression of their experiences of their social context as reflected in their thought forms.

The two faces of ideology form a paradox. To become aware of an ideology is to uncover both a true and a false consciousness. An ideology is true insofar as it accurately represents the reality of a given group or era. It is false insofar as the "truth of the time" may itself be a systematic distortion which benefits one group while disadvantaging others. The slogan "What is good for General Motors is good for America" may be an accurate reflection of the socio-economic consciousness which states that within a "free-enterprise" system large corporate production and profit making is both a requirement and an outcome of the economic system. At the same time the slogan may veil the fact that only a small and powerful minority benefit greatly from General Motors corporate success while the majority of Americans are short-changed, even exploited, to make large corporate profits and large production occur. Institutional structures and social practices are created by individuals and collectivities; they do not result from chance, deities or nature. When institutions and/or social practices and the consciousness that derives there from are reified and interpreted as "necessary", "invariant", or "natural", then we may conclude that a false consciousness exists.

In this essay I am not trumpeting the virtues of an ideological perspective as the "best" way to think about people and their predicaments. I am using the discussion of ideology as a "thinking tool" to point out a complex interaction between individuals and their contexts. This interaction is obscured by the extreme emphasis upon subjectivism and individualism which dominates much of psychology, especially cognitive and the "humanistic" psychologies.

It is my contention that counselling requires attention to both the subject *and* to the situation. If counsellors in their practice and their theory, are satisfied with the client's (subject's) thought and perceptions of the world, then counsellors may participate in the distortions which characterize clients' consciousness. Yet, if counsellors ignore the subjects' interpretations in favour of the "objective, external situation", they miss the important constituent (meaning) which active client consciousness contributes.

The Mind as Prison

The potential dangers of over-emphasizing the "I-ness" of human behav-

iour and ignoring the role of social practices and structures has not gone unnoticed. For example, cognitive psychology and other specialties, as well, has been stimulated by simulation and computer technologies. (This is also true of counselling.) Neisser (1976) has worried about the intrusion, even dominance, of computer technology into cognitive psychology: "We may have been lavishing too much effort on hypothetical models of the mind and not enough on analyzing the environment that the mind has been shaped to meet" (page 7-8). In a similar vein Gibbs (1979) advocates ecologically-oriented enquiry in psychology. Such enquiry is primarily a *transactum*. The usual experimental controls and procedures are important to ecological enquiry, but *not* more so than "holistic data, exploration and ecological validity" (p. 135). Neisser believes that a psychology which takes into account the *mutual* influences of person on environment and environment on person will help to overcome the major problem of contemporary psychology which has been the influences of objectivist and subjectivist reductions with a resulting *trivialization* of the intended subject matter of psychological study, the person. By turning our gaze more on the real-worldliness of people and their situations and studying individuals-acting-in-situations, and then writing about what we find, the trivialization quotient of journal articles might be reduced.

Bronfenbrenner (1977) has underlined the need to include the "nested systems" within which human actions occur and that participate in the determination of these actions. In his summary of discussion on the "ecology of human development" Bronfenbrenner reports what Professor Leontiev of the Soviet Union said to him:

It seems to me that American researchers are constantly seeking to explain how the child came to be what he is: we in the USSR are striving to discover not how the child came to be what he is, but how he can become what he not yet is. (p. 528)

Needless to say this perspective takes into account the social structures which shape the "becoming process". Bronfenbrenner's critical stance may be understood from his observation that he found *decades* of socialization research to be virtually useless in answering even a single practical question put to him by policymakers. Most contemporary psychological research does not try to link up the analysis of individual behaviour with objects, situations and environments, even further, with situations, objects and environments as social and historical products and not just as phenomena which "happen" to be there nor as simple derivatives or "interpretations" of human consciousness.

Argyris (1976) has analyzed the issue being considered here by means of

the concept, "single-loop" learning. Single-loop learning (instrumental reasoning) is similar to the process of the thermostat. A thermostat acts instrumentally to maintain the temperature of a room according to a pre-given temperature level. Such a mechanism does *not* question the pre-given and judge whether that goal (temperature level) is the better one and whether it is in the best interests of the room's occupants. Perhaps it is only in the best interests of the landlord—who pays the heat bill. However, such considerations are beyond the ken of single-loop learning or instrumental reasoning. Reasoning is said to be instrumental when it is concerned with fitting actions to the achievement of pre-given goals. (This conjures up the question of fitting people to jobs.) Instrumental reasoning excludes from consideration questions about the origin and suitability of goals and the *question* of who is best served by the attainment of the goals in question.

An instrumental definition of rationality requires that persons be regarded as behaving rationally *given* the goals or choices they face. No consideration is made that, for the persons in question, the set of goals which a particular social order makes available for their selection may be non-rational. For a person condemned to death to be asked "Would you rather die by hanging or by gas?" is to present the person with non-rational alternatives—it is hardly surprising that only non-rational replies can be made by the person in this situation.

Virtually no one denies that society is a hierarchical structure of power arrangements and the domination of some members by others in numerous status arrangements. One of the ways in which existing power arrangements are maintained is by getting people to accept a change in their subjective experience as a *substitute for changes in their reality* (Beit-Hallahmi, 1974; Buss, 1979). To the extent that psychological research and testimony, counselling and psychology, and other activities of psychologists are directed toward encouraging individuals to make a "mental" adjustment to a frustrating or need-denying out-there reality, then the criticism may be made that psychology, in its various manifestations, contributes to the denial of one reality and the promotion of another reality often in the best interests of dominant groups in society.

In any sense where psychology addresses conflict between individuals or groups by teaching that changing the way things appear is the same as, or preferable to, changing the real-life conflicts which underlie appearances, then one can say that *mind* is a prison; *psychology* as the "warden with keys" is an *interpretation* of what appearances "should" mean and an *explainer* of how a change in appearance is a valid substitute for a change in objective circumstance; finally, the out-of-prison world is inhabited by dominant groups, in whose employ psychologists are.

In other words, the cognitive emphasis with its dual reductions of subjectivism and individualism influences much of psychology, and, I would venture, much of counselling. This cognitivist stress on mental operations—mental operations cut off from their objective ties to social and historical practice—acts to separate people from effective action taken to change circumstances. Instead, they are persuaded to change their subjective interpretations of these circumstances. Change the way *you think about* (for example, think how it may miraculously solve the energy shortage in the 1970s) your next door neighbour, the nuclear plan. Then you will no longer be concerned about the possible dangers to your life represented by your next door neighbour, the nuclear plant. This is an alarmingly close analogue to: Doctor: "So you don't sleep very well these days since the freeway was relocated next to your front door?" Patient: "Yeah, that's it." Doctor: "Well, here is a sleeping pill that is 95% effective." (The other 5% are overdoses who died.) Patient: "Thanks, Doc, now I can sleep." Changes in brain biochemistry and changes in mental operations do make remarkably effective substitutes for changes in social realities. The only question which arises is: Effective for *whom*?

Human Interests and Psychology

Jurgen Habermas (1971) has introduced the term *interests* to denote the "constitutive context in which knowledge is rooted and the structure of the possible application which this knowledge can have" (p. 9). *Interests*, to Habermas, are not the "regulators" of cognition; instead they indicate the very context in which cognition is imbedded; "they themselves determine the aspect under which reality is objectified, and thus can be made accessible to experience to begin with" (Habermas, 1973, p. 9). Our methods of gaining knowledge are presupposed by these interests, three in number.

In the realm of instrumental action are found objects moving in space through time. Here we experience events, things and conditions which are, in principle amenable to manipulation. Out of this realm arises the empirical-analytical sciences which have as their object the prediction and control of objects, events and things. This is the *technical* cognitive interest and is to be found in the physical sciences and expressed as causal explanations and conditional predictions. The prototype of this form of interest expressed in scientific enquiry is the laboratory experiment.

The second interest is to be found expressed in the interpretive sciences or, in daily discourse, in the form of *intersubjective communication and understanding*. Habermas refers to this viewpoint as the *practical* cognitive interest. This

interest is oriented toward understanding (hermeneutics) and is rooted in the human world of one subject encountering another through the media of speaking, listening and symbolic interactions.

Most striking is the relation of these two forms of cognitive interest with the different functions which information produced by these two interest forms can have in pragmatic use. Technical interest is directed toward the application of *control* and causal explanation. Practical interest is directed toward the application of understanding, especially as the interpretation of complexes of meaning. These interests are not something which should be eliminated in order that an uncontaminated grasp of objective reality can be attained. Instead, they express anthropologically (Anthropologisch = the philosophical theory of man, *not* the science of anthropology as most readers might interpret.) deep-seated imperatives of socio-cultural life-forms constituted by labour and language.

Cognitive interests direct our knowledge and guide the relationship between the logical structure of enquiry (either scientific or hermeneutic) and the "pragmatic structure of the possible applications of the information generated within its framework" (Habermas, 1973, p. 8). In other words, and grossly simplified, the technical interest gives rise to empirical, scientific enquiry; information generated under this form of enquiry is used technologically. In both science and technology the cognitive interests are control, prediction, manipulation of conditions. In contrast, the practical interest gives rise to interpretive enquiry (history, literature, case histories, phenomenology). Information generated under these forms of enquiry is used hermeneutically (to interpret intersubjective symbolic communications) or to arrive at *meaning* and understanding.

Neither practical nor cognitive interest incorporates that reflexive or self-understanding aspect which serves as an *a priori* between origins and applications of their respective theories and bodies of knowledge.

However, critiques such as those developed by Marx and Freud—as metaphysics capable of self-reflections—indicate yet a third cognitive interest: *emancipatory* cognitive interest. Analytic methods of self-reflection—in the domains of therapy, psychoanalysis in the prototypical method—produce insight (knowledge) which coincides with an interest in emancipation from heretofore unrecognized dependencies. In other words (self) "knowledge coincides with the interest in liberation through knowledge" (Habermas, 1971, p. 9).

What is of specific concern to us here is how psychology has adopted one interest, the technical, as *the* model for *all* knowledge of humans and their behaviour. Psychology is driven by the conviction that reality (human behaviour) is technically predictable and controllable, in principle, under specified

conditions, everywhere and at all times. Of course, not all of psychology nor *all* psychologists share in this belief but it cannot be denied that this is the *dominant* belief in psychology; and that such a dominant cognitive interest has severe implications for how knowledge can be generated and also how it can be applied to everyday situations. (Often, it can't).

Has psychology taken wrong turns? There is little doubt that psychology has made various, important contributions to human welfare. Yet, I have tried to raise serious questions about psychology as an enterprise, especially as it may be regarded by many as *the* discipline within which counselling should nestle. I will leave the readers to their own estimations of what I have written. I will conclude this section by asserting:

1. Since counselling addresses the problems which people encounter in everyday life, and since everyday life is socially determinate, whatever psychology counselling utilizes should not be reductionistic either in reference to individualism or subjectivism.
2. I think that it is really open to serious question whether or not counselling is best served by psychologies which implicitly (or explicitly) assume technical interest to be the best (or only) framework "knowing" human life and behaviour.
3. Counselling may be closer to interpretive (practical) interest than technical interest in the application of knowledge and thus should consider forms of enquiry such as case study, phenomenological, situational analysis, ethnomethodological, and so on, as desirable ways to generate useful information.
4. In my opinion, the emancipatory interest may bear directly on the work of counsellors and should be opened up for enquiry. Perhaps we should spend at least as much time, money and effort in developing the knowledge - constitutive interests of understanding and emancipation as we have thus far funnelled into the technical interest of knowledge.

Research and Technical Interest

The sciences of man—especially psychology—have for over a century tried to emulate the successes of the physical sciences. Precise laboratory experimentation, careful questionnaires, elaborate mathematical models and quantifying procedures which constitute the bulk of psychological research add up to a pattern of activity which is very much like the rest of life in contemporary societies dominated by industrial production techniques. The "good" researcher is precise, objective, efficient, and, above all, "productive". He

conscientiously follows the rules and procedures for doing research and reporting research as are laid down by the research bureaucracy, especially as represented by funding sources and journal editors. I will attempt to elaborate on the remarks I have made in the preceding portion of this paper by presenting two "case" examples. While the "cases" are not bound together by unassailable logic of argument, collectively they are intended to serve as critical levers which enable us to grasp more clearly: "What *kind* of understanding of man does psychology give us?" For when does contemporary psychological theory and research contribute to, or detract from, counselling as a social practice.

1 . Kvale's critique of psychological research

Steiner Kvale is a Norwegian psychologist who has developed a critique of what he has termed the "technological paradigm of psychological research" (Kvale, 1973). I follow his arguments closely in the following paragraphs.

Two critiques raised against psychology during the late 1960s and 1970s are: (1) by almost exclusive use of natural science methods [the laboratory experiment and quantitative analysis] to study such phenomena as rat and pigeon behaviours, or the nonsense syllable retention of university students, psychological research yields products which are *trivial, artificial*, and seldom applicable to the actual problems which beset people and society; (2) further, the use of manipulation, controls, and a-normal experimental situations, psychology treats human subjects as *things* rather than beings, and thus debases and degrades the very objects of research. Not only does psychological research frequently produce trivial and artificial conclusions, it also may produce a deleterious, de-humanizing effect upon people.

Why are such critiques necessary? There are several possible reasons. First, after summarizing a thirty-year span of psychological research Koch (1959) remarked that psychology (as a science) was in a class by itself in the degree to which "*its scientific institutionalism preceded its content and its methods preceded its problems . . .*" (p. 783). Psychology was aided in its determined efforts to *become a science* by allying itself with *logical positivism* which was a leading philosophy of science in the 1920s and 1930s, and which advocated an idealized and slavish adherence to the physical experiment as *the* paradigm for social sciences. It was from the formulations of logical positivism that *behaviourism* got its substantial encouragement.

Logical positivism has changed somewhat and the proponents of this perspective have long since dropped their advocacy of the physical science experiment as the best, or only, paradigm for social science. Physics, regarded by many as the most *mature* physical science is not so much an exemplar of the

physical experiment as it is a revolutionary history of changing paradigms for doing research. Physicists such as Bohr, Heisenberg, and Weizsacker are examples of outstanding physical scientists who never "bought" the positivist philosophy to begin with. In quantum physics the reciprocal influence (interaction) between researcher and object is a basic tenet and must be taken into account as a critical part of the research strategy. On the other hand, in psychology under the influence of natural science methodology the interaction between researcher and subjects has long been considered a "source of error" a factor to be controlled, avoided, or eliminated, for the sake of "objectivity".

If physics does not always employ the elegant experimental methodologies advocated in "scientific" psychology, and if logical positivism has faded from the scene somewhat from its heyday thirty years ago, and has changed its own perspective on the form which enquiry should take, and if various critiques have been raised against the triviality, artificiality, and non-applicability of psychological research results to human situations, then *why* does psychology not revise research strategies to become attuned more closely to the realities of human existence and behaviour? In fairness, there are many signs in psychology that just such revision is going on and I will have something more to say on this later. If one looks at standard texts in psychology (including many in "counselling" psychology), and if one examines the periodicals in which psychological research is reported, and if one attends congresses where psychologists meet to discuss their affairs of state one cannot escape the conclusion that the physics experiment is still the dominant strategy for psychological research. Why?

Kvale attributes lack of change in psychological research not so much to the fact that psychology apes physics, but to the probability that the basic paradigm for psychology is really technology; more precisely, technology in capitalist society. In his words "technology and capitalism, visualized by the working situation at the factory assembly line and by the money system, constitute the fundamental basis for current psychological research" (Kvale, 1973, p. 147).

What similarities do exist between psychological research and the factory, to put it bluntly? First, both technology and the laboratory experiment put extremely high values (the highest values) on prediction and control. In the factory a boss "controls" workers in the experiment, the experimenter "controls" the subjects. Control is both standardized and componentialized. The factory worker pushes a lever, the rat pushes a lever. In the factory the workers are kept "in the dark" about the managers' and owners' interests; in the experiment, the subjects are kept "in the dark" about the experimenters' interests. Both in the experiment and in the factory there are clear dis-

tinctions between the observer and observed, manipulator and manipulated, controller and controlled. The distinctions are expressed in the discriminate knowledge each possesses about "What is actually happening here," by high and low status, and by differential economic rewards each receives for performances. Neither workers nor subjects are of any intrinsic interest (or value) in themselves, but only instrumentally as sources of data production or labour production. Measurement and quantification dominate both the laboratory experiment and assembly line production. Workers and experimental subjects are, in general, similarly discouraged from creative or atypical performance. The worker who works idiosyncratically is fired. The subject who is perceived as behaving idiosyncratically is "screened out" or "controlled for" by the application of group averages, statistical procedures, randomization and other manipulations. The worker's labour transforms into products per unit of time which transform into money which transforms into profits. The subject's performance transforms into quantities of data which transform into reports which transform into grants and salary. Factories are increasingly computerized as are research laboratories.

The point of this critique is that there are striking similarities between life on the assembly line and life in the psychology experiment; further, both may be seen as life-forms within capitalist (and, perhaps, non-capitalist) industrial societies. Both are rooted in the technical interest (Habermas, 1971) which was discussed earlier. Central aspects of contemporary industrial society are power, money and technique. Do both technology and psychology arise from the same deep-seated interest: control? If so, is psychology, especially psychology in the quest of status as a natural science, a reliable source of information and guidance for an application such as counselling?

Case 2. *What kind of "psychology" do counsellors need?* Do counsellors need "more cogent, elegant . . . models and theories of human development and counselling?" (Zingle and others, 1981, p. 5). I doubt it. If we put aside centuries of "common-sense" about human conduct, will ". . . our experimental subjects be able to tell us, through the medium of their behaviour what kind of theory psychology is entitled to . . ." and will the barriers to proper theory be ". . . toppled by experiment . . ." as Estes (1957, p. 617) would have us believe? I doubt this. Consider the following arguments adapted in part from Shotter (1978, pp. 33-43).

Is it possible to devise as part of a "new" approach to the study of everyday activities in life (for example, counselling activities) a special way of comprehending them which will not *distort* them by intrusion, deception or artificiality, but *will* allow us as professionals (researchers, practitioners) to *deepen and enlarge our understanding* of them?

If our way of seeing everyday activities is no different from the lay view,

then it is hard to justify our claim to any special knowledge or practice.

However, if our way of seeing things distorts or is from a categorically different viewpoint from the layman (that is, if we take a "theoretical" point of view, for example) then we are in a double-bind. The very knowledge which we lay claim to and which we would like to use in the solution of daily life problems in fact brings into question and apparently denies (Joynson, R.L., 1974) the commonsense notions about ourselves and others in everyday life that we would use in applying "special" knowledge to the solution of difficulties in daily life. A scientific, psychological account of social reality lacks "ecological" validity; further, it tends to compound rather than reduce moral confusion.

Our task, really, is not to develop a theory about people but rather to develop special ways of "seeing them in action". How *do* people *do* things? What is *actually going on here*? It would seem that if we wished to get a grasp on the *ways* people do things, we would best turn to academic psychology; surely scientific psychological investigations turn up *something* usable for us. Yet after years of training and struggle, we find, oddly enough, that our special knowledge is of little help with particular instances. In fact, it may blind us, as professionals, to the realities of daily existence.

Psychological training *undermines* confidence in common sense and the everyday world. As students of psychology studying at universities we must (for who wishes to fail) first come to admit that our common sense view of reality is full of fictions, illusions, distortions and *certainly* lacks precision, consistency, logic and rigor. We find out that most of life's problems are due to ignorance, folk-think and unreasoned beliefs. What is required (of scientific study) is to bring a disciplined, rational, scientific account to bear and redesign society with the help of science (especially scientific *research*). Then mental illnesses, crime, conflict, fear and suffering will surely disappear. The task of the "successful" student of psychology is to give up the knowledge of everyday life already in hand, and replace it with an *ideal* of a scientifically understood, conflict-free, logically structured social life which *must* be taken to be superior to everyday social life *as it actually is*.

Psychology texts introduce students to the science of behaviour and explain how psychology goes about its business. Novices must learn "... to think in a new way about the *living organism* and the activity [we psychologists] call *behaviour*" (Hebb, 1959, p. 1). We learn to try to apply experimental methods for the purpose of identifying cause-and-effect laws which (hopefully) will be shown to govern *all* behaviour, or at least all behaviour under *specified* conditions [but which, strangely enough, *never* seem to satisfactorily explain *this* particular behaviour, for *this* particular individual, at *this* particular time, under *these* particular circumstances]. A peculiar, neutral language

especially designed to consider "psychological" problems and exemplified by the language of "information processing" is needed to replace everyday terms (Broadbent, D.E., 1969).

Scientific psychology strives to see things "objectively". Yet just what constitutes the "objective" aspects of an everyday situation remains incredibly problematic. That psychology has, in the main, *ignored* this problematic suggests why psychological "explanation" often alienates rather than renders intelligible.

If we should give up our special methodologies as psychologists, and do nothing more than that, then we would be indistinguishable from lay men, and could lay no claim to a professional specialty. This tells us that at least we need to learn how to see "*more*" than lay persons "see", if not differently. And, we need to "see" in a way which does not distort and alienate as the behaviourist methodologies borrowed from natural science distort and alienate (Joynson, R.L., 1974).

If we are to reconstruct psychological enquiry to produce a comprehension of human actions which is useful in the solution of everyday problems, it is essential to distinguish between *actions* and *events*. Actions refer to what we do and events are those things which happen to, in, or around us (Shotter, J., 1973; Taylor, 1966).

In everyday life, and in science as well, the ability to judge our responsibility for things is essential. No matter what beliefs one may hold about universal determinisms, it remains inescapable that individuals can themselves cause some, though not all, of their own motions. Further, we all face the task, in endless everyday situations, of making sense to others. Who wishes to be "counselled" by another who "doesn't make sense" of things? If we desire to know the "meaning" of a person's actions we must discern how these actions are put to use in a social context. All, or nearly all, "behaviours" are, in fact, social practices. We engage in them in order to take a place in the world—and this is invariably in relation to others in the world. Learning to make sense to others is more than learning (objectively) a defined pattern of responses. We must learn how to modify our actions continually in the face of changing circumstances (often this means "people") and in relation to *some* standard. This is to say that learning to make sense to others is in essence, learning a practical skill (or set of skills). Thus, we must discover how to concern ourselves not with people's "response patterns", nor with "behaviour" observed from an "outside" vantage point, but rather with people's *actions*, the ways that people do things as understood from the *inside* by someone who is involved in the action being studied.

When we observe a person *doing* something, or *saying* something and we wish to gain an understanding of what it is that this person is doing, and how,

we may pose one of two questions:

1. "What *in* the person enables him to do it?" [This is the classical, psychological question and implies that within the person some mechanism or trait exists which causes him to do this thing.]
2. However, we can also ask, "What enables this person *himself* to do it?" [This requires a description of some social exchange; an account of what goes on *between* persons rather than within them.]

To the extent that a person has mechanisms (traits, factors, variables, dimensions) which *cause* him to do this or that, then we are stuck with a more-or-less useless (and, perhaps, mistaken) approach to human behaviour. An alternative viewpoint, expressed in question 2 above implies that man is peculiarly bifurcated.

On the one hand a person manifests personal *powers* [accounts and performances] which are within his own self-control and at the same time manifests other partly "natural" powers which are outside his agency to control. Even more importantly, the individual is so constituted as to be able to *transform* (through social exchanges) the latter into the former, at least to some degree. This viewpoint enables us to ask: "What is it that enables Jack and Jill to act as they *themselves*, rather than as circumstances require?" To pursue this question requires that we proceed *phenomenologically*—that is, we must strive to understand that "which in each and everyone's *experience*, makes it possible for us to live our daily lives in processes of [social] exchange . . . with one another and [in exchange with] our physical surroundings" (Shotter, 1978, p. 40). From this viewpoint, one does not search for products of experience, nor for "events" of behaviour but for "in-action" descriptions of how life is experienced in the everyday world. The everyday world is, after all, "always there" and is the context within which we must cope, adapt and live. The everyday world does have a structure in itself and is manifested by all of us through our social practices and exchanges. We *learn* these social practices in our *practical exchanges* with others who *already have learned* how to execute such practices successfully (Shotter, 1976).

Is psychology irretrievably riveted to conceptions of man which require theoretical explanations that behaviour is either the result of inner mechanisms *causing* the individual to do what he does, or, conversely, behaviour is *caused* by environmental determinants? Or is it possible to construct a new perspective which lets go of the cause-effect-explanations and takes up direct study of *experienced* in-action life, concentrating on exchanges, phenomenological accounts, spheres of agency responsibility and social practices. Such a view would contrast with the traditional psychological view which is that psychology develops a different, specialized view, better than the view of lay

people, requiring a special language, and using the experiment to topple common sense understanding and establish universal laws of behaviour. The alternative view, phenomenological and social in nature, would directly explore the everyday world of people as they *experience* it, *account* for it, and *enact* their lives in it. This view would not be different from the lay view; rather it would extend *further, more deeply* than the lay view of life. Rather than research and theory supplanting common sense, this alternative method of study would extend, deepen, and elaborate common sense, thus preserving the very context within which *all* explanations must finally *make sense*.

Finally, by dropping the behaviouristic view that behaviour is *always* the effect of a cause [although we may not know what the cause is] the alternative view requires that man *himself* still must choose and that choice itself is determinate of the degree of responsibility persons may have for their own actions. By staying within the everyday world, we would presumably be able to see both *better* or *worse* ways in which we all could act. The foundation for moral judgement would not be undermined, rather it would be elaborated.

Everyday Life

People live their lives in the realm of everyday experience. It is here, in the homes, streets, shops, cafes and classrooms that people *really* live—not in the specialized and peculiar environment of the laboratory. In this realm of *real life*, people talk to each other in *ordinary* language and *act* on the basis of what is termed “common-sense”. Common-sense, although scorned by many scientists, is actually a *structured world* constituted by rules and imbued with meaning. Granted that this common-sense world is frequently opaque, ambiguous and enigmatic, none-the-less, it is a *real* world, and the *only* world, in which man actually *lives*. It is *this* world—the world of living experience, everyday actions, and ordinary language—that counselling should address itself to, and attempt to *understand*. To do this requires a pragmatic, hermeneutic mode of thought rather than a scientific mode of thought.

Common-sense is a social-psychology which should be taken seriously, especially by counsellors whose mission it is to provide guidance to people who face difficulties in everyday living.

People “do” things and they have “reasons” for so doing, even though the reasons are frequently not readily apparent. Most of the time most people live out their social lives performing social habits. *What* is done (waving good-bye) and *why* it is done (to indicate to the other that one recognizes that the other is departing from our immediate shared world) is done unreflec-

tively. Most of the actions of everyday life are of this order: habitual and without self-awareness.

When we become *uncertain*, when "things go wrong", then we become aware of what we are doing. When we are challenged or puzzled or blocked, then we begin to draw on our common-sense knowledge (of rules) in order to justify our actions or maintain our life movement.

The "social psychology" of common-sense (or to put it another way—the everyday 'rule following' process) is composed of four elements (Harre, 1974). The first thing a person does when uncertain is try and decide: "What is actually going on here?" This is a search for situational definition (Thomas, 1928). Second, is the element of identity: "Who is responsible for what is happening here?" Identities are socially derived, that is to say, they are created by means of interaction (Goffman, 1970). The third element of common-sense psychology is the phenomenon of preparatory run-throughs or the imaginative rehearsals which the person undertakes to see "What is likely to happen when, and if, I take this action?". This element indicates that each person performs a *critic* function in that one prepares for action by trying, in imagination, to anticipate the reactions of another person (or persons) for whom a performance is put on. The fourth element is comprised of the rules known to the person for guiding "what should be done now". In this perspective each individual is a "set" of individuals: actor, observer, critic (Ossorio, 1978), guided by cultural wisdom.

I will not take this discussion further at this point. I have tried in the preceding section to show that psychology (including counsellors), took a wrong turn when adopting the scientific image—at least insofar as psychology is held to be a discipline which provides information which is useful for guiding the individual in everyday interactions; further, that a corrective for this wrong term can be found in a pragmatic, hermeneutic mode of thought which enables us to try to *understand* people as they live their lives, especially in the realms of experience, action and meaning, and that as counsellors we can function better by remaining in the realm of common sense, action and ordinary language.

By these remarks I have not intended a discrediting of psychology *in toto*. Psychology has made many contributions to knowledge of human behaviour, especially at the level of physiology and neurology. A person is composed of physiological and neurological structures, and these are vitally important as an organism. Essentially, however, the individual does not *live* on the level of biology but on the personal, social level. In this realm, where we exist, and where counsellors try to function, the foremost task is to *understand* what actions are going on and for what reasons; and, to understand what *possibilities* for action there are, in this situation, with which anticipated consequences?

What I am proposing is either that scientific psychology be abandoned as the guiding discipline for counsellors, or that it be revised to fit the task of *understanding*, or more precisely, that particular branch of psychology known as *counselling psychology* be revised so as to better provide counsellors with more useful concepts and knowledge. By "useful" I mean knowledge of the everyday world gained by pragmatic, hermeneutic modes of enquiry and knowing. Now I will turn to a discussion of some of the implications flowing from the proposals I have just made.

At this point, most readers may think that I have gone on at far too great a length on topics which do not seem to always *directly* apply to research in decision-counselling. My aim up to now has been to instill doubt in the reader's mind. Doubt about whether or not psychology (also "counselling" psychology) in the standard form of "natural science" psychology in fact makes significant contributions to the practice of counselling. In addition to attempting a "disturbance" I have also at least hinted that there may be better ways to go in applying psychology in theory and research to counselling than the applications which we have been making so far. I now want to make some suggestions about *what* types of research might be more useful to counselling.

Positive Alternatives for Research in Counselling

We certainly need an image of man [what it means to be human] [what it means to be a person] to guide our efforts in counselling and in counselling research. We have three images to choose from.

1. *The mechanical.* This is the classical approach in which the behavioural "scientist" observes external behaviours and then infers that mechanisms within persons "cause" them to behave. Behavioural counselling, a great amount of appraisal and testing, the vocational fit model of counselling and trait-and-factor models of personality all rely upon this image.
2. *The organic.* This is exemplified by systems theory, the work of Piaget, and to some extent, developmental psychology. This image occupies a middle position between determinism and self-responsibility. Family counselling especially draws on an "organic" image.
3. *The personal.* This image portrays the person as one who *acts* in relation to other persons—each human is a *person* in a community of persons. Persons exist *only* in relation to other persons. People are not mechanisms; nor are they organisms (who have their species-specific nature transmitted through them via genetics); rather, they are persons, acting toward each other, developing their life forms through actions, having

reasons and responsibility for what they do, doing what counts in the real world, working at the *task* of forming a life. Practical activity precedes theory. Theory, if there be any, *emerges from* practical activity and serves to clarify practice.

What would a psychology of the personal be, and how would it serve counselling?

First, let me state that such a psychology has two functions: (1) to advance understanding of what is actually occurring as people act and react with each other; and (2) to establish what we can be responsible for, and why. This means that the psychology which might best serve counselling would be both *hermeneutical* and *moral*.

Hermeneutics is most clearly expressed in phenomenological psychology and is the *science of understanding*. Moral psychology (moral science of action) is that psychology which studies action rather than "behaviour". It is concerned with what people do (including think) rather than with behaviour (observed) patterns of movement caused by external [or internal] "events".

Much of counselling is devoted to an examination of "what am I do to" in this particular situation, and, given a range of alternative actions, which seem to be "better" and which "worse"? Moral decisions are the very heart of counselling. Closely associated with this theme is: "What *am* I responsible for *doing* in this situation, and what is outside of my agency; what *can* I do on my own and what not?"

Under the guidance of a psychology both hermeneutic and moral, counselling might have the purpose to make possible:

the extension of clients' ability to decide for themselves how they will act by making clear the nature of the goals available to them; so that they may choose what to do next; to act deliberately instead of merely acting as the situation requires; to teach through social exchange (learning, communication) those actions required for the chosen course of action (if they are not already part of the client's action repertoire).

In general, people's actions are to be explained, not causally, as a sequence of events driven by some underlying universal principle of causation, but *intentionally*. Human action is intentional, with reasons, although intentions and reasons are not always immediately clear and manifest. People's actions are intended to help in the realization of projects, goals, undertakings, plans or ideals which they have *invented* and have not had handed to them by God, nature, genetics, or chance. Social life is a *negotiated order*. Human action is essentially *constructive*, directed toward the realization of events which do not yet exist.

People act self-consciously, always "knowing", on some level, what it is that they are doing. Yet these actions are always taken in relation to others. Animals respond directly to, and within, nature. Humans do not. Humans are always *situated*, that is, they operate from certain "positions" within culture. *Who* one is, and *what* one is, and *which* action to take next—these knowledges can only be developed through exchanges with others, who are, or have been, members of a given community.

A moral psychology strives to distinguish between actions which one deliberately (self-responsibly) enacts, and actions which simply "happen" or are "required". But it goes beyond this. Vygotsky (1962) has pointed out the distinction between deliberate and non-deliberate actions. He has also pointed out that non-deliberate actions can be modified or transformed into deliberate actions by instruction from another person. So that the person who "automatically" bores his friends by repetitious story-telling can (with some effective prompting by an "instructive" friend) acquire a self-reflective knowledge of this action and can learn to *deliberately* tell stories, or refrain as he judges best. What the prompting by a friend does is to communicate *reasons* for story-telling and reasons for noticing the results of story-telling and thus establish a *new* awareness to serve as a basis for deciding when, and why, to tell stories and when, and why, not to.

When we counsel with others, we operate towards them in ways which are designed not only to distinguish actions, better from worse, but also to give *meaning* to actions. Actions have both *social use* and *meaning* and counselling is a process which differentiates actions (in terms of their social usefulness) and clarifies meaning (within the context of the client's life-world).

Counselling is that social practice which is used to enable the individual to learn to do what counts in the real world of work and human relations. Through counselling, the client is enabled to better "interpret" his solution, and, in many cases, to "act" more satisfyingly in order to meet his or her needs in the given situation. The counsellor must deal with this specific individual and not some class of individuals. John Smith is always John Smith and no one else. He is never merely *a* John Smith out of the class of things which we designate "John Smith". Classical (positivistic) psychology is almost of no use in the actual interpretation of individual actions. As Gault and Shotter (1977) put it:

"To understand the 'meaning' of someone's actions, why he did what he did, one may need to ascertain his current beliefs about the world and his situation in it, and the moral and social rules by which he regulates his conduct" (p. 89).

What we face, I believe, is not an improvement in the methods and data of scientific psychology as a science useful to counselling, but the difficult choice

to *abandon* scientific psychology as the main discipline which we draw our guidance from. In its place, we must build up a psychology which will be both moral and hermeneutical—that is, that will be of use in determining responsibility and will give useful guidance on how to *understand* the actions and situations of others. I am not suggesting that *everything* about scientific psychology should be disregarded—I am suggesting that it is not the best model for counselling to emulate.

More on Research in Counselling

I have suggested in the earlier portions of this paper that what the counsellor faces over and over again is: why is this particular person doing this particular thing (and/or 'feeling this way', 'thinking this way') at this particular time? What the counsellor is trying to arrive at is an *understanding* which is useful in this instance – that is, which will render intelligible what it is that X has learned by imitating older, admired peers, his parents, etc. They in turn were also taught by others, and so on. Often B is doing X because everyone else is also.

We can develop an understanding of Jack's "talking back" in class pragmatically by coming to see that by doing this, he achieves a certain status with peers, a rather different (but also desired, from his point-of-view) status with teachers, and so on. We may also learn by listening to Jack's account of himself that he "learned" this way of speaking (partly, at least) from his older brother whom he admires and who "modelled" talking-back very well indeed both at home and at school. By researching Jack's lifeworld (through hearing his accounts of himself, and, at times, the account which others give of Jack's actions), we can arrive at a good understanding of why (*given a certain classroom situation*) Jack talks-back because A,B,C, etc.

is doing (thinking, feeling) in situation Y at time Z. Strictly speaking, what is needed is not a "scientific" explanation but a pragmatic understanding.

There are different levels of analysis in explaining things. With respect to human beings we can envisage three levels of analysis:

- I. Macroanalysis: Why do people (as groups, societies, in general) do A, given conditions B . . . N?
- II. Individual Analysis: Why does person X do A, given conditions B . . . N?
- III. Microanalysis: Why does behaviour (event) occur, given conditions B . . . N?

(Microanalysis can be carried out at the level of overt behaviour;

biochemically at the level of molecular structures, and physically at the level of particle mechanics. Each level of microanalysis contributes important knowledge about "organismic" man. Yet each microanalysis *reduces* the person (actor) to certain elements and fails to yield useful pragmatic knowledge which helps one to understand why an individual does thus and so in everyday life).

On the individual level what we have are individuals (persons) "*acting* for the sorts of *local* reasons that typically motivate individuals" (Garfinkel, 1981, p. 165). This is the everyday world of persons which counsellors are confronted with in their daily work. Explanations arrived at on this level are not "scientific". They are commonsensical and they are circular in varying degrees. For example, when we try to find out why Jack "talks back" in class, we often find out that he was taught this type of speech act by others—

What one cannot do is give a generalized explanation of why do (some) (many) (all) pupils talk back under certain classroom conditions. To take another example; a counsellor may be confronted with an unemployed person. The counsellor wishes to determine what accounts for this particular person's unemployment (given that a general state of unemployment exists). The counsellor (as counsellor) and the client (as job seeker) are not enquiring into the structural question of why is there unemployment at all (of which this person is simply one instance)? Unemployment, as a structural condition of a society may be accounted for by various explanations: e.g., international monetary policies, incompetent corporate management, political ideology, etc. However, *these* reasons are not useful in helping an individual client to negotiate a change in status from unemployed to employed. Counsellors, and those counselled, find *particular* reasons rather than *structural* reasons, to be useful.

The counsellor, together with the client, must try to account for the particulars of why "I" am unemployed, what can "I" do about it? How do I *change* from unemployed to employed status? What is to be dealt with here are *actions*, *meaning*, and particular *experience* within a specific situation. Whatever changes occur will develop through *social exchanges*. The research which is most needed in counselling (and especially in what we can term *decision-counselling*) is research which will *clarify our everyday concepts of ourselves and others*, especially as persons-in-action, trying to establish what we are responsible for, and what we are not responsible for, and why.

Now what kind of research in counselling will develop our understanding of persons *acting* in the everyday world of persons giving *meaning* to what they and others do in the everyday world, and of persons taking guidance from how they *experience* the everyday world? For reasons already stated this type of

research has a cognitive interest which is pragmatic and wishes to understand rather than control. This general method of enquiry may be termed hermeneutic. Hermes, the wing-footed messenger-god is associated with the activity or functions of bringing into the light of understanding that which up till now has been opaque to human understanding. The Greek verb form *hermeneuin* contains three directions of meaning:

1. to *express* or to say;
2. to *explain*, as in explaining a situation; and
3. to *translate*, as to translate from a foreign tongue into a familiar one. (Palmer, 1969)

All these meanings can be given in the English verb "to interpret". Interpretation is taken to be that activity, or mode of enquiry, by means of which one comes to understand a phenomenon. Interpretation is *not* taken to mean that process by means of which an understanding of a phenomenon is arrived at by explaining it *in terms of* another theory or framework.

What are some specific research methods which fall within the hermeneutic, pragmatic mode of enquiry? What needs to be researched in the field of decision-counselling, and by which methods? In line with the proposal for returning to the common sense world in counselling research, I will suggest three areas and three types of research needed in decision-counselling: life-world research (phenomenologically-oriented research), conceptual analysis and situational research. These suggestions are obviously not exhaustive of the research needed in decision-counselling. They do, however, suggest directions which, I believe, we need to take.

Life-world Research

The life-world of a person is that person's story as seen from several perspectives (the most important being the perspective of the person him/her self). The life-world is the sum total or configuration of the person's meaningful *actions*. *Actions* (including intent and purpose), meanings, and experiential descriptions form the "stuff" of one's life-world. The explication of life-worlds is an attempt to say "this is how this person lives (acts), these are his reasons (meanings) for what he does, this is how it feels to occupy this *place* in the world." An *understanding* of the individual life-worlds is the soundest basis for assisting those individuals to negotiate with others, meet their needs, and achieve significant status in the world.

The best (perhaps only) method for studying the life-worlds of others is the phenomenological method. The phenomenological method of enquiry relies heavily upon direct observational-interaction with "subjects" and pays close

attention to what people say, how they act (especially how they interact). Phenomenological enquiry is a hermeneutic mode of enquiry and incorporates not only the direct results of its own methods but also the results of other methods, sometimes re-interpreting them to search for a deeper, more detailed understanding of how and why a particular person lives the way he does. The phenomenological researcher stays within the everyday world where people live, talk and act.

Phenomenological analysis of both counsellors and clients would help to explicate what actually happens, and why, when persons are engaged in decision-making. A brief explanation of phenomenological research is given by Denton (1981) while more extensive and technical discussions are given in Valle and King (1978) and in Bogdan and Taylor's (1975) book on qualitative research methods. An excellent example of a phenomenological study of decision-making methods (although not life-worlds) is Tripp's (1975) doctoral dissertation. Another life-world study was carried out by a student of mine on how drop-outs experience schooling (Bristowe, 1973).

Phenomenologically-oriented Research

Phenomenologically-oriented research takes as its main goal the explanation (understanding) of human actions as they are manifest *directly* in the performances and accounts of the daily lifeworld. The focus is upon actions and meaning and man-in-relation-to-others (and his culture). The vocabulary of everyday language is used more than a specialized scientific language. I will briefly describe two studies which are phenomenological in nature and which typify the type of research which clearly has potential usefulness for counselling.

The Educational Decision Makers Study

In *Educational Decision Makers* (1963) Aaron Cicourel and John Kituse report how they investigated the processes within a secondary school by means of which persons (students) come to be defined, classified, and recorded in the statistics of the school as "college bound", "under-achievers", "school-leavers", "academic problems", etc. How do the actions of school personnel result in making a student a statistic in a given category? The researchers contended that the "production" of various student "problems" is related to the bureaucratization of the counselling system and the professionalization of its personnel. Further they contended that school counsellors and school social workers tend to give clinical interpretations to explain why students who appear to have ability to do successful school work none-the-

less may fail.

To conduct their research, Cicourel and Kituse used open-ended interviews to pinpoint those social processes whereby students and parents made decisions on the choice of curriculum and future aspirations, their knowledge of the curriculum, and their interaction with the school. About 100 students, their parents, and 22 counsellors were interviewed.

This study did not contain an "analysis" of data where various levels of significance were reported for quantified data. Instead, the study report contained detailed interview responses which were "loosely" organized around decisions, the processes which contribute to decisions within schools, and the activities of school counsellors within the school. Reading this research report sheds considerable light upon the actions (including decisions) of students, counsellors and parents re decisions and provides a deepened *understanding* of the school as a bureaucracy. To give one concrete example, a careful reading of the study leads one to recognize the unhappy prospect that youth under the influence of solicitous parents and "receptive" counsellors may be socialized to the practice of "easy confessions" and receptivity to professional guidance in "who" they are and "who" and "what" they should become.

The Testee as Coevaluator

Fischer (1970) has proposed a framework for testing which takes into account the phenomenological principles that:

1. a person acts in accordance with his own experience; that is, the person acts on the meanings which he or she imputes to things, persons and events. One always acts from the standpoint of a certain perspective; and
2. a person is capable of *multiple* perspectives; and
3. openness to meaning is a distinctly human feature.

Based on these principles, Fischer proceeds to investigate how, and to what extent, tester and testee:

1. Co-operate in the evaluation, which means:
2. Share impressions, give feedback and explicate the specific meanings which the test tasks have for this specific client;
3. Converse in everyday language rather than psychological jargon, especially on the part of the tester;
4. Mutually critique any written evaluation and establish to what degree there is a match between the tester's report and the tester's experience; and, finally,
5. Agree on designation of report receivers.

I will conclude this portion of this essay with a brief account of the main features of phenomenological research.

1. *Phenomenological description*: probably the most comprehensive mode of enquiry available for *understanding* what clients do (and counsellors), and what is meaningful, and why, and how actions and responsibility can be accounted for. The goal of this method of enquiry is understanding—it incorporates other types of enquiry when appropriate.
2. *What the phenomenologist studies* (in counselling): the *life-worlds* of clients and counsellors. Each person is considered to be a universe having an *N* of 1. Each person is studied individually, not along variables. Persons do not live “variables”, rather they live “meaningful action”. The life-world is taken to include the situation or context also within which meaningful action is taken.
3. *How the phenomenologist observes*: by looking and listening under conditions of *bracketing*. Bracketing refers to the experience a surgeon must undertake when he does heart surgery on a friend. His knowledge of his friend (as friend) must be set aside so that he can actually “see” the operation of the heart (as heart) and not as a part of his friend. Most people have had similar experiences. For example seeing an acquaintance in a drama production requires that one put aside the perception of “acquaintance” and concentrate instead on the “actor” and “character” being played by the actor. If bracketing is not done, then the play cannot be seen.
4. *What results from phenomenological description*: most importantly, a direct recording and compiling of what people actually say and do, individual by individual rather than on a group survey basis. Sometimes artwork, photographs and video or audio tape recordings. Scientific *explanation* requires that each variable, to be explained, must be subsumed under a *general law* or high-order probability statement. Understanding is arrived at on the basis of *multiple* perspectives—is exactly how individuals experience their own life-worlds. Results from phenomenological enquiry are given in ordinary language—in contrast to results from scientific enquiry which one gives in precise, technical language (mathematical, if possible). Consider which is the more effective: Suppose a child wants to learn how to make a paper airplane. On the one hand you could give a lecture in physics and aerodynamics; or you could say “here, do it this way” and demonstrate how to fold the paper so that the plane will sail.
5. *Are phenomenological results valid (generalizable)?*: to the extent that multiple accounts of experienced phenomena show parallels then the results are held to be generalizable (same meaning as valid). There are many steps which the phenomenological researcher takes to reduce distortion in understanding—most of these are refinements of observational and descriptive powers of researchers and are *not* controls such as randomization, mathematical manipu-

lation, exclusion of researcher influence, and so on, such as is commonly done in experiments.

Further treatment of phenomenological research methods of enquiry can be found in the *Duquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology* (1971, 1975), in D. Vandenberg's *Phenomenology and Educational Research* (1974) and Denton's recent article, Understanding the Life-world of the Counsellor in the May, 1981 issue of *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*.

Conceptual Analysis

The option that I have been outlining in this paper—that is, to break with the widely held scientific mentality—and turn attention both in research and practice to the everyday world of actions, meanings and experiencing is a *radical* step. The type of enquiry (hermeneutic, interpretive) which I am suggesting would be more useful to counsellors and to counselling researchers cannot be measured against the (psychological) science of verification. With my proposal, the cognitive interest becomes understanding, not prediction (control). The interpretive enquiries are not value-free. They investigate what constitute deciding for better and for worse. In one sense they are “moral” (what action(s) is best here?). These enquiries require a high degree of self-knowledge. The researcher participates, becomes part “of the action” and thus must remain vigilant to his or her own contribution as a person to “what is going on here.”

Because of the many problems which arise by making a radical departure from conventional opinion one must state what one is doing, justify what one is doing and gain the understanding of reluctant colleagues. To work for these goals *conceptual* analysis is an indispensable research method. Our solution in illuminating the various elements of decision-making is *not* “waiting to see what more and better empirical research will tell us”. This allegiance to “more and better” testifies to a *faith* that scientific methods of enquiry will someday provide a set of inalienable laws of behaviour with which we can achieve ultimate explanations. This is a prime bargaining point for wrestling more funds from granting agencies and for leveraging one's status upward in the community of scholars. We have very limited reason to believe that this faith is *ever* likely to be fulfilled. We still await our “first” law.

The question of *what constitutes effective decision-making* demands an elucidation of the concept of *decision* (decision-making). We face the task of clarifying and setting in order *what we already know*. We need to understand the implications of the concepts we already use. Some of the most widely used concepts serve us badly because they have not been clarified.

One often hears a complaint that what is lacking in counselling is a *database*. I'm not sure about this. I'm rather inclined that what we lack is the knowledge of how to clarify the concepts we use now. I am *not* suggesting that our concepts lack definition and that we need better (more precise, operational) definitions. What is needed is clarification, not definition. To imagine that counselling concepts can be precisely defined in either a logical or semantic sense is similar to imagining that children play their games of ball according to *strict rules*. They do not, nor should they, nor can they. They do, however, have a very useful *concept* of the game they play. The game "makes sense" to them, and they frequently play very well indeed. If we wish to understand how children play games, and why, then we best not try to fit what they *do* into how the game should be played, by definition (according to strict rules). It is more instructive to watch their actions carefully, and listen to them, carefully, when they give accounts of what they are *doing* as they "play". What children are doing and the concept they have of what the game is about, and our concepts of what they are doing and what the game is all about can certainly be clarified. This clarification arises through participation, through watching, and through listening.

Counselling suffers from too much conceptual definition and too little conceptual clarification.

There are numerous conceptual analyses which, from my point of view, suggest how counselling researchers might proceed. For example, Shotter (1978) outlines a "social psychology of common sense" and investigates how the professional can develop a greater degree of usefulness from common sense knowledge than the average person. Watzlawick and colleagues (1974) conceptualized "change" in a way especially useful to the counsellor. Two concepts which indicate the usefulness of the Watzlawick formulations for counsellors are: "first order versus second order change" and "reframing". An example of the difference between first and second-order change is dreaming. In a dream one may do many things—laugh, talk, walk, run, hide, fall, etc. Yet, *within the dream*, no change from one dream action to another will terminate the dream itself. This is first order change: change within a given system which itself remains unchanged. In contrast, changing from dreaming to waking changes the very state (system) one is in. Waking is not part of a dream but is an entirely different state. "Second order change is change of change" (p. 11).

"Reframing" means to change the frame (viewpoint) taken in relation to the experience of a particular situation and to adopt another frame which fits the facts of the concrete situation equally well (or even better) and thereby alter the meaning which the situation has for the individual. A counselling example is the case of a man with a noticeable stutter who had to change his

line of work and for reasons irrelevant to this example, chose saleswork. At first he was intensely worried that his stammer would detract from his sales practice. However, he was aided by his counsellor to reframe using two elements which had not occurred to him before. First, did he realize that many people dislike the sales people who are slick, "fast talkers"? Second, had he ever noticed how most people really listen carefully and patiently to someone who stutters? Perhaps his handicap was, in reality, an *unusual* asset to him in his work. This client was being coached to re-interpret his situation and to conceptualize his stuttering as a potential asset rather than an unfortunate liability.

The typical "treatment" response to a stutter is to try to eliminate the stutter through speech therapy or to help a stutterer to find work which does not require much oral communication. Typical counselling research would focus on the extent to which one or the other of these treatments turned out to be most effective in the general population of treated stutterers. Reconceptualizing this "situation" in the manner of Watzlawick, however, we *think* about the client's problem and possible solution in a *different* and *particularistic* manner.

Yet another set of conceptual resources is offered by Peter Ossorio (1978) and his colleagues under the name of Descriptive Psychology (Davis, 1981).

Descriptive Psychology tries to explicate

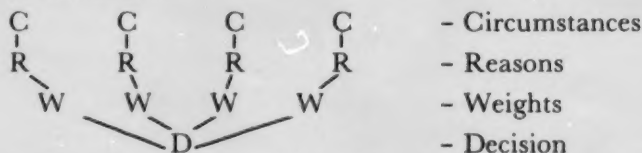
- 1) what people and their actions *are*;
- 2) how persons, behaviour, and the real world interact; and
- 3) what are the research paradigms which best apply to people, their behaviour and the real world.

Descriptive Psychology is not a theory but a set of conceptual-notational devices designed to give us access to the full range of possible facts about people as they actually operate in the real world. An explanation of the overall approach is far too large a task to be given in this paper. However, I will give two examples to indicate the relevance of these conceptualizations for counselling.

Decision Diagram

In attempting to understand what decision or decisions are best for X at time Y, we need some conceptual guide for thinking about the decision-making process (assuming for the moment that an actual decision is a certain point in a process). Descriptive Psychology offers the following analysis. A decision (choice) (judgement) is an expression of a summary formulation of our behaviour potential, hence of whom we take ourselves to be.

We can visualize a formula of critical factors which enter into what we *decide*. The critical factors are: *circumstances* (situation), *reasons* (what we give as accounts for our actions), *weights* (personal characteristics) and *decision*. This can be diagrammed:



Our circumstances give us reasons; our reasons are weighted by our personal characteristics, and a decision (judgement) eventuates from the interactions of these various factors. Personal characteristics include three sets: *Dispositions* (that is, traits, attitudes, interests, and style); *Powers* (abilities, knowledge, values, my body); and *Comparatives* (states [excited, tired, sick, happy, asleep, confident, awake, hungry, indifferent, etc.] and statuses [being a male; being an engineer; being married; being a student, etc.]).

From the point of view of Descriptive Psychology, then if we wish to come to a decision, or to understand *how* someone decides (or is unable to) or why they decide and then change their mind, we need to identify, consider, and inter-relate circumstances, reasons, and personal characteristics.

The aim is not to *predict* behaviours (decisions) but to *understand and guide* them. What counsellors (and counselling researchers) "need" is competence in observing, describing, appraising, and acting. Descriptive Psychology attempts to provide a set of conceptual resources to enable us to better do these things.

Legitimate

One of the counselling tactics which has been derived from the formulations of Descriptive Psychology is termed *legitimation* (Driscoll, 1981). This amounts to a radically different view on counselling and I will briefly describe it both as a practical example of counselling strategy and to indicate how conceptual analysis opens up previously unthought of areas for research.

The most important task which a researcher or a practical counsellor faces in gaining a clear understanding of "what is going on here?" is to exert a competency in *describing* behaviour. To help with behaviour description Ossorio has developed a series of maxims. At first glance, they seem to be trivial, even tautological. Their purpose, however, is to *codify* rules of procedure for observing behaviour. Three of the maxims which are relevant to the example I am presenting are:

-
- I If a person recognizes an opportunity to get (or do) something he wants, he has a reason to try to get it.
- II If a person has a reason for doing X, he will do it, unless at that time he has a stronger reason to do something else.
This maxim acknowledges the wisdom of the folk adage: "Actions speak louder than words." It also serves to refine the account of why A is doing what he is doing now.
- III If the situation calls for a person to do something he cannot do, then he will do something he can do.

These three maxims taken together can guide the counsellor to a fundamental insight about a client's behaviour and suggest an appropriate counselling tactic. The basic insight is that what this particular client has been doing with reference to the issue at hand has *made sense* to that client, even though to other people it may have been nonsensical, irrational or what have you. Yet the client's actions (thoughts, plans) have, in one sense, been sensible to him or her—even if the client is caught in uncertainty. Of course, the client may not be very articulate about all this and may not be competent to account for the present predicament.

Armed with this insight (conceptual understanding and behavioural observation) the counselling tactic to be derived can be termed legitimization. This means:

Show the client the sense that he or she does make.

Actions based on misunderstandings or on lack of knowledge *make sense* in the light of such misunderstandings. Conceptual limitations or unusual personal experiences or bizarre circumstances may account for misunderstandings or for confusing intentions and unworkable actions. To legitimate the client is to *show* him or her how in the light of the circumstances, and in view of what he or she understood to be the case, and in view of his or her intentions, values, abilities, and achievements, then what he or she thought or did *make sense*. Legitimizing as an activity can be contrasted with making excuses, giving causal interpretations, or merely *telling* the client that he or she makes sense (or doesn't make sense).

Situational Research

There seems to be little room for doubt that people are socially formed. Who am I and what I am able to do arises primarily, although not exclusively, out of the facts of my social existence. Many persons who seek counselling are *uncertain* (they can't decide what to do) and *unskilled* in groups (situations). We all are engaged in numerous group situations such as: formal social events, intimate encounters, casual acquaintanceships, formal work situa-

tions, one-sided social skill situations (such as teaching, interviewing, supervision, managing, policing, etc.), conflict situations, group discussion and, of course, decisional situations.

Situations are social constructions of members of a culture or subculture. Common situations are characterized by:

- 1) goal structure;
- 2) rules; and
- 3) skills needed to function and overcome difficulties.

It is along these dimensions that the socially unskilled, more often than the skilled, go wrong (Argyle, 1980). Counsellors are coming to pay more attention to the importance of situational influences in working with clients, including decisional situations (Janis, 1975).

It is frequently easier to change a situation than to change persons. In the instance of interpersonal incompatibility between teacher and child it is often easier to change the situation (for example, find a more compatible teacher and transfer the child to that classroom, than it is to change how the particular teacher and child behave. Research into person-situation interaction and research which studies how social skill training can be applied in counselling would seem especially promising.

Much of the research on social skills training has been conducted along the lines of experimental social psychology and quite a lot of this research has been criticized on the grounds that it was done within the mechanistic image of man and has failed to credit individuals (group members) with the capacity "to create, modify, and transform" situations, especially through negotiation and agentic action (Ginsberg, 1980). Further criticisms of experimentally oriented research into social situations include the observation that group "ideological" factors have not usually been taken into account (Israel and Tajfel, 1972); little recognition has been given to the fact that groups are "historical", therefore, validity findings have no *permanent* validity; and latent or unconscious factors are seldom taken into account in situational research (Nisbett and Wilson, 1977).

The research methods which can be applied need not be limited to the laboratory experiment but may be *opened up* by role-play experiments, field studies, ethological methods (Ginsburg, 1980) and by phenomenological methods as well (Harre and Secord, 1972) in which the research stance is taken that the best way to come to understand another's behaviour is to ask him for his account of what he was doing and why (Marsh, *et al*, 1978).

In conclusion

Throughout this paper I have tried to build a strong argument that our re-

search needs in decision-counselling are, first of all: to give up certain goals and methods of research which have been developed within the framework of scientific psychology; second, to consider research methods and topics which fall within the realm of the everyday. Such a hermeneutic mode of enquiry gives much weight to three factors: actions, meanings, and experiencing. Further, it seeks to understand persons as capable of *responsible* action—and, more importantly, as capable of transforming conditioned behaviours into deliberate actions through the medium of social exchange. Through training (or the counselling activity) one can come to establish responsible control over what were previously behaviours, and thus transform “behaviours” into *actions*. I have tried to indicate some of the research strategies and some of the topics from which I believe decision-counselling could benefit.

I will conclude with the observation that perhaps the most difficult pill of all to swallow for the true-blue scientifically-oriented researcher is that from many sources we are slowly confirming: that humans *are* open-systems. That human actions *cannot* be shielded from unpredicted interference. That humans are *self defining*. That self-definition means that different individuals *must be understood in different terms*—even more so, at different times and with different circumstances. That the *futures of persons are speculative* and only possibilities. That human conceptual innovations make precise prediction *impossible*. That man *alters* the course of life through deliberate action thus breaking loose from the necessity of pre-determination. What this adds up to in a single sentence is: Uncertainty is an *ineradicable* part of our epistemological predicaments. And *that* is why hermeneutic enquiry is not only possible but even a paradigm preferred over the scientific by an increasing number of scholars and researchers who choose to understand *what* it is that *this* person *does* at *this* time, in *this* situation, and why.

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Footnotes

¹In fairness, it should be noted that the "strict" behaviourism advocated by Skinner has more or less been abandoned by behaviourally oriented counsellors and therapists for positions which include cognition or which attempt to combine behaviourism with so-called humanistic features.

Pragmatic Counselling: Working With Clients and Situations As They Actually Are

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Introduction

Counselling is usually rationalized as a quasi-psychological activity requiring fairly sophisticated theories of personality, motivation and behaviour change. Some counselling approaches are even imitative of psychotherapy and one frequently encounters the contention that the difference between psychotherapy and counselling is *really* on a matter of degree. Psychology is widely claimed to be a science. Psychotherapy, too, yearns for "scientific" status. Further, some counselling specialists argue for a "scientific" status for counselling. I have argued elsewhere¹ that counselling is *not* psychotherapy, should *not* be construed as a "science", and *should* be de-psychologized.

The informed reader may well ask: "If you claim that counselling is clearly different from psychotherapy, and that counselling should be de-psychologized, then how on earth should counselling be oriented. What do you think that counselling is, anyway?"

My brief answers to these two questions are:

First, "Counselling should be based on:

- a. useful descriptive information about *clients as they actually are*; and useful descriptive information about their real *life-situations*; and
- b. life-history knowledge and cultural wisdom which people *already possess* in one form or another."

My second answer is: "counselling is *that* social practice which is carried out to produce and clarify (a) and (b) above for the purpose of making decisions and acting in goal-directed ways."

Essentially, counselling is that social practice which can be brought into play when a person *becomes uncertain about what to do next* with some problem in daily living. According to my own research over 95% of all requests for counselling assistance arise out of an *uncertainty* about some issue in practical life. The primary dimensions of counselling are *clarification, knowledge use, decision*

and *deliberate action* to achieve *goals, purposes, and meanings*.

For the purpose of trying to understand what I am conveying to you as a reader of this essay, I ask you to do the following: put aside your pet theories and conceptions about what counselling *is* or *should be*. Don't worry about whether counselling is best explained as client-centered, Rational Emotive Therapy, Behavioural, systematic, intuitive or what have you. Forget for the moment all of those skills and concepts you have struggled so hard to learn about the counselling interview — about how to be facilitative, warm, respectful, etc. Most of all, try to suspend your belief about the importance to counselling of psychology and scientific status, and suppress as well your ideas about possible connections between counselling and psychotherapy.²

Let's try to get a fresh start here without that enormous pile of conceptual and theoretical paraphernalia which you have managed to acquire and which you customarily use when discussing counselling. I know that this is a very difficult task I am asking you to perform — but try it, you might be surprised at the results.

Setting up the drama

In the drama which I am about to unfold, I will use two actors: *Joe*: who is an *uncertain* person; *You*: a counsellor. Instead of the term counsellor, I may at times use "coach" for two reasons: first, using "coach" instead of "counsellor" is a device to help you forget about what you as a "counsellor" might or might not do; should or should not do; second, the term "coach" may fit more closely my notion of a *re-conceptualized counsellor* than prevailing definitions of "counsellor".

Also, the drama includes myself (after all I am doing the writing) as an observer-critic. I will comment on what You and Joe say and I will give certain explanations. Some of my comments will be in the text itself while others are contained in the reference notes.

Now, my purpose in the remainder of this paper is to show how Joe may be assisted with his "problem" by You as you work directly with Joe *as he actually is* in his life situation *as it actually is*. In other words, You and Joe will stay within Joe's "common-sense" world — which, incidentally, is very similar to your common-sense world. You will deal with Joe and his "problem" using the *vocabulary* of everyday speech. Further, you will draw upon the *knowledge* which You and Joe *already* possess as a result of living in a common social reality.

Joe is bringing to this discussion the knowledge and learnings he already possesses as a result of his life history so far. Being 30 years of age Joe has

already solved an incalculable number of life dilemmas *on his own* using the knowledge he had at hand at the time of each dilemma. Joe has a common-sense "psychology" for solving problems which he shares in common with You and virtually everyone else who lives in our culture. For each person this common-sense psychology comes into play when *something goes wrong*. It can be stated thus as a set of four steps, each with a function:

Steps	Functions
1. "What is actually going on here?"	(Defining this situation)
2. "Who is responsible for what is happening here? Me? You? Others? or does this just seem to be happening?"	(Determining <i>responsible</i> actors)
3. "What will happen if I do X, or Y, or Z, etc.?"	(Imaginary run-throughs)
4. "What knowledge (and wisdom) do I already possess which will help guide my actions (also, what knowledge am I missing?)"	(Basing decisions, actions and accounts on knowledge-at-hand; also, rule-directed action)

In other words, as a result of growing up, nearly everyone has already acquired a certain strategy for attempting solutions to uncertainties. Now, You may want to ask Me certain questions.

YOU: If a person *already* possesses a strategy for solving problems and has this knowledge *in hand*, then why does a person need help from someone like a counsellor in the first place?

ME: Good question. A full answer would take a lot of writing. Let me give you a few hints which may do for now.

First, the knowledge which any person has at any given time about some issue in life is usually *not fully coherent*. The knowledge which we have is always partially organized (within our consciousness) under *plans* of different kinds: plans for getting a job, plans for being a parent, plans for "having a good time" and so on. Such plans are continuously shifting and each has greater or less relevance in specific situations. The main point I wish to make is that the knowledge which a person has at hand is usually not very well organized with reference to any specific interest or difficulty.

Second, the knowledge which any person has at hand is only *partially clear*. Consider, for example, your own knowledge at hand about say, how a telephone works. You probably can say, "Oh sure, I know how a phone works, I

know how to use it." Exactly, and you do know how it works — until it stops working. My guess is that at that point your knowledge about how it works (or rather, why it isn't working) is not too clear. You would probably be pretty hazy on a lot of details and would discover that you are far from clear about "how this thing works". Interestingly enough, quite a few people do have all the knowledge at hand to *really know* how a phone works but that knowledge is scattered around in the various plans in their consciousness. According to our first principle, it is not *organized clearly* into a competent plan for *fixing the telephone*, but it *can* be organized!

Third, a person's knowledge at hand is *not at all free from contradictions*, or, in other words, is not consistent. As a parent, an employee, a church member, a citizen, and a member of an athletic club a person may have vastly different and inconsistent opinions on moral, political, social and economic issues. This is not just the result of faulty logic, but a person may not be aware of the modifications in their own opinions [knowledge] which they must make to pass from one level of relevance to another or one plan to another.

YOU: So a person has a lot of knowledge-at-hand, but it is often not sufficiently coherent, clear, and free from contradiction to make it really useful in the specific situation-at-hand, is that it?

ME: You've got it!

YOU: And I suppose that you are also going to tell me that one of the counsellor's main tasks is to help the person to re-group his or her knowledge-at-hand so that it is clear, coherent and consistent with respect to the issue at hand.

ME: Exactly! A satisfied client says "Gee, I solved that one myself!"

YOU: But surely, a person must often need to know something *more* than what he already has in hand.

ME: Of course, and we can come back to that point later on. For now, what I'd like for us to keep in mind is this:

- a. Knowledge-at-hand is vastly under-rated.
- b. Knowledge-at-hand often must be re-grouped.
- c. *New* knowledge will create additional confusion if it does not jibe with knowledge-at-hand-relevance structures in the individual's consciousness [in fact, this is why so much "good" information and advice is rejected by clients].
- d. For new knowledge to enter in a useful manner implies *cooperation* of the counsellor and client. Speaker and listener must orient toward each other cooperatively rather than defensively or manipulatively if effective communication is to occur. Effective communication is a pre-requisite for both regroup-

ing of existing knowledge and bringing in of new knowledge in consciousness.³

Enter Joe

Joe is a thirty year old man who has been trying to find work. Joe has not had much education and his plan⁴ for finding and getting work is not very well thought out. However, not having work causes lots of trouble in Joe's life and he is determined, if inept, about changing from the status⁵ of unemployed to employed. Remember, You are the counsellor although I have asked you to suspend your at-hand conception of how a counsellor should act. You and Joe are seated in your office where the following fragments of conversation are to take place. Joe is a composite client, having been constructed by me from several clients I have talked to recently about work and career plans. Joe is *not* a YAVIS (Young, Attractive, Verbal, Intelligent, Successful) client.

Joe	You	Me
Yea, I wanted to tell you . . . I saw something in the ads this morning.	Hi Joe, I was thinking about you this morning. I thought you might stop by.	{ Establishes <i>Identity</i> ⁶ : I know you, the man called "Joe".
Well it was about this job and I was just wondering . . . (pause) I wondered, maybe I should look into it.	What did you see, Joe?	{ Request for knowledge [K parameter in Note 5]
Uh, it's Foster Fuels, you know, over on Admirals Road, they're looking for a wood-cutter.	You saw an ad in the paper for a job and you think maybe you should take a look at it . . . What kind of a job, Joe?	{ <i>Confirmatory</i> statements, as suggested by Maxim 4 (style).
Well . . . Yes . . . You know how some people need split-up wood for their stoves — this guy splits up the wood into chunks.	Oh, yes, the place that has wood for stoves and furnaces. I'm not sure what a wood-cutter does, do you know?	{ Request for <i>client knowledge</i> : [K parameter — Note 5].

Oh, a heavy kind of
axe — real heavy —
more like a sharp
sledge hammer, I'd
say.

Like different lengths,
and some big pieces
and then kindling, is
that it? Is the splitting
done with an axe or a
machine?

{ Request for more *client*
knowledge — still K
parameter.

Oh yea, I'm real good
at splitting, I used to
do it all the time when
I lived with Dad. I've
split cords and cords of
wood. I never used
one of those machine
splitters, though.

Well Joe, you sound
like you know what the
wood-cutter does — do
you know how to do
it? It sounds like hard
work?

{ Requests *know-how* in-
formation from client
[KH parameter,
Note 5]

The way we dit it is
we had 2x4s laid out
against a wall so when
we filled up as high
and as wide as the
2x4s we knew we had
a cord. I think a cord
is a 4x4x8 foot stack.

You're lucky — a lot
of people wouldn't
know how to split
wood — at least they'd
be pretty slow at it.
How do you tell when
you've got a cord split
anyway?

{ *Know how* confirmed,
at least verbally.
Requests more infor-
mation about cord
measure which, if
answered by Joe would
further confirm know-
how. Ideally, *know-how*
is best confirmed
through actual demon-
stration.

Yea, I really need
some job badly — I
hardly got enough
money to pay for room
and board. I felt pretty
bad when I was let go
at the greenhouse —
they just didn't have
no winter job for me. I
guess cutting wood
wouldn't be too bad,
as long as it don't get
too cold.

Well, Joe, I know
you've been looking
for a job — how does
this one sound to you,
if you could get it?

{ Here you try to sample
Joe's wants [W para-
meter in Note 5]

Yea, that's about it.
What do you think I
should do?

So you're really short
of money now and you
want a job badly. I
guess you'd *rather* work
inside at the green-
house if there was any
work for you. Cutting
wood is something you
know how to do just so
long as you don't have
to work in too cold
weather.

Here Joe's *want* is con-
firmed. Joe has reasons
for trying to get this
job: 1) he needs
money, 2) there is no
chance at present that
he will be able to work
in the greenhouse, 3)
he knows how to do
this job. He has one
reason at least, for *not*
wanting it — the cold.
[See Note 6 for further
elaboration on *Want*
parameters.]

Yea, I guess so, I'm
not sure what to say
though — it's kind of
hard over the tele-
phone, you know. Do
I just say I want the
job? What if they say
no? How much do you
suppose they pay?

Well, Joe, they did say
to call if interested in
the job. As far as I can
tell, you *are* interested.
I'm wondering if you
are ready to call or if
you need more time to
think it over.

At Joe's request you
are offering some
"guidance" here.
Also, you are testing
out the strength of his
want.

At this point in the interview it is becoming obvious that while Joe seems to have *know-how* about wood-cutting, he probably doesn't know-how to apply for a job. At this point you guide him through a simple, even crude, role-play [which is what he can deal with] and *convey* to him how to ask about the job, the pay, the hours, the output expectations, the duration, and so on. During this part of the interview you also learn about several of Joe's Personal Characteristics (Note 6) — he is shy, he is willing to practice, he tries to put your advice to work, he is likeable, he is clumsy, etc. You are also able to assess that the (possible) job has considerable significance (Note 6) for Joe and the efforts which you as coach (counsellor) are making on his behalf also have a lot of meaning for him.

Joe does get the job. About a week later you stop by Foster Fuels. You see Joe in the wood yard and ask him how he is getting along. He replies: "Not bad, not bad. I've been at it a week and it's getting better all the time. They even gave me a real splitter yesterday." He shows the "real splitter" to you. It is made of a rod with a splitting chisel welded on the base. A heavy tube slides up the rod and, when dropped, drives the chisel into the wood.

YOU: Say Joe that looks a lot safer and faster than the axe.

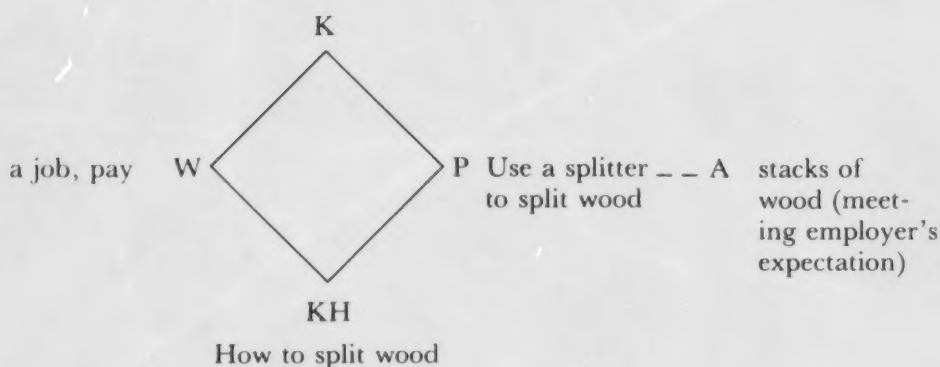
JOE: Right. I'll get an extra cord today, anyway.

You speak with the manager (whom you have met before through your work in the city on employing handicapped adults). You ask about Joe. He replies: "I couldn't ask for a better splitter. He knows how to do the job and works steady. I was worried at first because he seemed pretty shy and would hardly talk — but no complaints now."

Through your visit to the fuel company you were able to check on the "Performance" parameter [Joe's *doing* is highly satisfactory] and on the "Achievement" parameter [the stacks of cord wood attest to the outcome of his performance]. His employer confirmed both his performance and his achievement.

With respect to Joe in the "Wood cutting situation" You were able to check-out all eight parameters for an understanding of Joe's behaviour in that Situation. Four of them K, KH, W, P, are of primary importance and can be made graphic:

Outdoor Work vs Indoor Work
Wood-cutting vs Wood-hauling



In other words does your client:

1. *Know* what is involved?
2. *Know-how* to do what is required?
3. *Want* to do what is entailed?
4. *Do* what is necessary in an acceptable manner?

I, A, PC and S parameters add further details which enable you to achieve a full, descriptive understanding of Joe's *Behaviour* in the "wood-cutter situation".

Policies to Guide Your Work With Joe

In this section of the paper, I am going to state policies⁷ which can guide you in your work with Joe (or any client). A counselling policy statement is a direct prescription for making choices within the process of counselling.

A policy is designed to apply across n-cases unless circumstances supply a better reason or reasons for not applying the policy. Ordinarily, no further rationale is needed to "modify" a policy to make it fit a particular case.

The adoption of policies for guiding counsellor actions, if such policies are reasonable and adequate, and providing that no stronger, contravening reasons exist, gives the counsellor a good chance of success in using a broad range of counselling interventions.

The policies are stated in ordinary language and are not intended to be derived from, nor explanations of, any psychological or psychotherapeutic theory. Instead, they are coalesced from descriptions of what actually occurs when help-intending acts are carried out, and when in the judgment of those acting and acted upon, the actions are for better, rather than worse.

In the following tabulation I have entered the Policies together with a brief explanation in the left column, and associated counselling interventions on the right. This tabulation is not meant to be conclusive; rather, it is suggestive.

Policies	Interventions
1. <i>Be on the client's side!</i> [In its better form, counselling is a cooperative activity between counsellor and client. The counsellor should refrain from taking an adversary position <i>against</i> the client.]	a. <i>Listen!</i> b. <i>Provide time and space</i> free from distraction. c. Adopt a <i>phenomenological</i> attitude by suspending any prior conceptions or beliefs you may hold toward <i>this</i> client; try to perceive <i>this</i> client as he or she actually is, rather than what you assume.

2. *Affirm the client's strengths!*

[Each client has *some* assets — which may either be manifest or latent — usually both. Try to confirm the client as a *person* of good character even though specific behaviours suggest the contrary.]

Affirming the client's strengths also means: *Legitimize the Client!* [When a counsellor is able to show, and *accept*, that what the other person is doing within the prevailing circumstances *makes sense*, the client is *legitimized*. Even though a person is confused, mis-understands and is inept, still given their (mis)understandings and the circumstances what they are doing makes sense to that person; even though others don't see it that way.]

3. *Treat each client as a person!*⁸

Counsellors should challenge "victim" statuses. Every person who copes at all in daily life is in-charge of some areas of his or her own life. Use person-in-charge interpretations.

d. Use *ordinary* language. Use the person's name. You are face-to-face. Act *awake* to the person in your speech and in listening.

a. *Listen!*

b. Use *confirmatory statements* such as paraphrase, positive reinforcements.

c. Help the client to develop a "*map*" of what he or she actually *can* do; *wants* to do, how deficits can be filled.

d. Use the *phenomenological attitude*.

e. *Explore and define* the actual situation.

f. Help the client to *clarify* his or her reasons for actions.

g. Bolster the person's concept of self as a *sensible* person.

h. Use *ordinary* language. Say "that makes sense"; rather than "that appears to be a credible explanation."

a. Identify and emphasize *areas of self-control* in clients' lives.

b. *Reinforce initiative and self-responsibility* — use examples, analogies, gentle challenges, restate your understanding of how this person is doing something responsibly for him or herself at the present time.

4. *Assess what matters!*

Focus on what may be put to use: practical skills, personal characteristics and relationships, including both deficits and strengths. Avoid using personality or character assessments as a basis for explaining client difficulties.

5. *Begin with simple interpretations!*

As you work with the client to evaluate client actions and present situation, begin with simple interpretations, stay with the "obvious". Develop elaborations and work up more complex explanations only when actually required. Don't "psychologize" obvious, direct actions and accounts.

6. *Don't make things up!*

Stay with the particulars of the client and his or her situation. Don't impose theoretical or speculative explanations. Don't promise more than you can deliver and don't offer suggestions or information which is "shaky" or for which you have no evidence or reason to believe yourself.

c. Use ordinary language. Speak of "needs", "achievements", "satisfactions", "barriers", "try-outs", "actions", "steps"; don't use terms like "neurotic", "non-entitled dependent", "inadequate personality" and so on.

a. Clarify and question.

b. Use appraisal methods whose findings can be put to direct use in helping this client to achieve feasible goals. Don't do "routine" testing.

a. Listen.

b. Use ordinary language.

c. Confirm understanding by:

i. paraphrase

ii. graphics

iii. give-and-take discussion.

a. Observe and describe client actions and utterances and check out with client.

b. Pay attention to how a client describes self and situation.

7. *Don't expect the client to be somebody else!*

Try to avoid angry, blaming, or interrogative stances toward your clients. Clients may be *uncertain* about whether or not they *want* counselling; they may appear *reluctant* to engage in counselling; they may *resist* counselling either passively or actively; they may show outright hostility to the counsellor. If counsellors *expect* clients to conform to criteria which define the "good" client (YAVIS) then in many cases they are in effect expecting client X to be somebody other than whom she or he actually is. Such expectations lead to counsellor feelings of frustration, anger, hostility and betrayal.

8. *Provide!*

The client and the counsellor *share* responsibility for achieving the purposes of counselling. The counsellor has a responsibility to provide the overall *framework* of counselling within which discussion, learning, accessing information, deciding, planning and evaluating can occur.

Providing means *at least* the following:

- a. *Convey information* which is relevant to the task at hand informs which are understandable to the client;

- a. Try to "see" each person as he or she *actually is*.
- b. Be prepared to radically *alter* your approach to clients who are reacting in ways which puzzle or frustrate you. For example:
 - i. Change from a warm and accepting style to a negotiating style;
 - ii. State matter-of-factly what you *can* provide in counselling and what you *cannot*, instead of questioning the client;
 - iii. leave the client alone for a short period then return and begin on a different topic.
 - iv. Ask the client what he or she would do if in your shoes.

Use:

- a. Identification of alternatives
- b. Plan formulation
- c. Perception-checking
- d. Graphic illustrations (draw or get the client to "diagram" the task or situation.)
- e. Information devices such as pamphlets, books, hand-outs, films, tapes, check-lists, CHOICES, and so on.
- f. Use role-play and simulation to clarify perceptions.

-
- b. *Clarify* concepts, reduce ambiguity in how the client (and you) see the client's situation.
 - c. *Appeal* to what is *already* important to the client, to what the client *already* understands and has had experience with.

9. *Deal with the reality basis of emotions!*

This implies two things. First, identify and confirm how the client does *feel* about self and situation and others in the situation. Second, don't dwell on emotions unduly, but proceed to deal constructively with the circumstances which generate the undesirable emotions. *Fear* is usually related to definite perceived real-world threat; anxiety to *dimly* perceived real world threat; anger to provocation; guilt to wrong-doing; jealousy to actual or imagined acts of personal betrayal. It is important that the counsellor take responsibility for guiding the attention of the client *beyond* the experience and/or expression of emotion itself to the reality which generates it.

- a. Use empathy and clarification.
- b. Assist the client to understand what person or aspect of reality the emotion is *directed toward*; then *focus* on reality with the aim of changing the reality or removing oneself from *unchangeable* realities.
- c. Explore the possibility of altering the client's *perception* of the antagonistic reality so that the reality is seen in a "new light". The tactic is sometimes valid; however, caution should be taken not to guide someone into putting up with an *intolerable* situation. This is the *tranquillizing* approach to counselling.

10. *Avoid coercion!*

Coercion breeds resistance. In the face of resistance, it is better to work for *clear understandings* of differences, *negotiate*, *clarify* mutual purposes, and put resistance producing topics on the shelf where you can come back to them later when the relationship will support their discussion.

These ten policies overlap in various ways. Collectively, they are guides for: affirming the client *as he or she is*, within the situation *as it is*, and increasing the client's possibilities for thinking clearly and acting effectively to achieve goals. The policies really imply a general way of *being with clients*⁹ which is based on cooperation, negotiation, working on the basis of what actually is perceived to be the case, using ordinary language, drawing on practical knowledge and reasoning, and avoiding language and procedures which medicalize, psychologize, trivialize or victimize clients.

These policies and the other concepts presented in this paper are arguments that practical decision making [reduction of uncertainty] is more appropriately approached by staying in the everyday world of practical reasoning than through recourse to abstract models of decision making and use of psychotherapeutic techniques.

I will conclude by saying that I regard this paper as an *unfinished work*.

What you need to know, you already know, yet fail to utilize.

rvp 1982

Reference Notes

¹Peavy, R. V. Decision-counselling research and practice; A New Start. Paper presented at The National Consultation on Employment Counselling Research. December, 1981. Ottawa, Ontario. 75 p. mimeo.

²I am asking you to take the methodological attitude of phenomenology in which one refrains from making judgments for or against the existence of an entity (in this case: counselling as I am reformulating it in this and other essays) based on already inculcated beliefs, assumptions and concepts about what that entity is and should be. From a phenomenological perspective such a suspension of belief is required in order to "see that which actually stands before us, as it is, in itself."

³ A successful counselling conversation is not a series of disconnected remarks, but *is* an organized sequence of utterances achieved through the *cooperation* of speaker and listener. [Grice (1975) "Logic and Conversation" in P. Cole and J.L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 3, *Speech Acts*, New York: Academic Press] has specified the cooperation principle in effective conversation by four maxims which can serve as guidelines for counselling conversations. These maxims appear to apply especially to communicants who are attempting to build up common knowledge.

- 1) *Maxim of Quantity*: Your contribution should be informative but not more informative than is required.
- 2) *Maxim of Quality*: Try to make your contribution one that is true. Don't pretend. Don't say things which you believe to be false or for which you have *no* evidence at all.
- 3) *Maxim of Relation*: Make your contribution (both speaking and hearing) relevant to the aims of the on-going conversation.
- 4) *Maxim of Style*: Be clear. Try to avoid obscurity, ambiguity, wordiness, disorderliness (for example, unfinished sentences, vague asides). Try to use ordinary language. Use confirmatory utterances (for example, paraphrase, ask for clarification).

The power of these maxims can be illustrated by the following exchange:

- A: Will you be able to come for an interview tomorrow at two o'clock?
B: No, I must work.

A will accept B's reply as an *answer* to the question for reasons of informativeness, truth, relevance, and clarity *unless* there are stronger reasons for not accepting it. For example, A may believe that B is *pretending* to work in order to avoid the interview.

⁴ The concept of *plan* is crucial to the point of view presented in this paper. However vaguely it may be defined, nearly all people have a *life plan*. A person must more-or-less keep a multiplicity of social relations, time tables, and a plurality of "careers" organized in his or her mind. Not only does my life plan include my own careers as father, husband, professor, writer, leisure participant, and so on, but it also includes *knowledge of* numerous other careers both realistic and typified. My own life history out of which my life plan has evolved contains realistic conceptions of farmer, factory worker, janitor, hotel desk clerk, grader-operator, speech therapist in addition to my present work career as university professor for I have *been in* each of these ca-

reers in my life history. In addition, I have *typified* knowledge of a host of other careers. For example, although I have never been a delivery man for a retail store, I none-the-less have a pretty good notion about the typical life career of a delivery man. While I expect that it is quite unlikely that I will ever be in such a career, I have very little difficulty in *imagining* how I could have if my life had taken a different turn.

With respect to many careers, the family serves as a *life-planning* workshop. In reference to work-careers, the family *does not* fulfill this function so much anymore, the school does not either. The result is that many persons go into adulthood with a life-plan (often vague) which contains no particular useful work-career plans.

This state-of-affairs causes some intra-personal conflict and confusion for the following reasons:

For most people, at some point in their life, usually early adulthood, the principle institutional influence in life planning is the labour market and one's relation to it. In other words, most of the projects which one undertakes as part of one's life plan are organized around one's job. Other "careers" (parent, mate, citizen, student, etc.) typically revolve around and depend on one's "job".

The "life plan" refers to *how* knowledge of society is organized in the mind of consciousness of the individual.

The life plan is a primary source of identity. Most concrete life decisions are defined as a means to an end in terms of the over-all life plan or in terms of some life project which is made plausible through its connection to the overall life plan.

Individuals tend to suffer two types of anxiety with reference to the life plan. If the life plan is *fairly well articulated* (most aren't) then each concrete decision in life brings on stress for it is perceived to have significance (or lack thereof) for the grand project.

More typically, the life plan is vague and incoherent. This brings on anxiety of a different sort: the person dimly perceives that he or she *should* have a life plan but doesn't. Not being able to define or articulate the life plan brings on frustration and anxiety. He or she is perpetually uncertain about decisions since it is not clear how any specific decision will influence one's overall, but unarticulated plan. After all, if one doesn't have a plan, then how is one to know what to do?

⁵ Status is a critical concept in pragmatic counselling. The Key elements of status as used here are:

1) status refers to a person's *place* in the real world.

-
- 2) when we know someone's status, then we know how it *makes sense* to treat them.
 - 3) status can be *assigned* to us by others (for example a teacher may assign a pupil the status of "slow-learner", "modified", or "gifted"); or we may assign ourselves status (I am an "invalid", I am a "nice guy", etc.).
 - 4) status indicates what we are *eligible* to do (For example: "*only* a high school graduate *may apply* for this job."); and what we are ineligible to do.
 - 5) statuses vary in importance and they change. For example, I have been assigned the status of overweight by my doctor. This status has some importance to me, but not very much. However, I didn't have *that* status at all ten years ago! On the other hand, my status as "mate" is very important to me, although I have certainly not had *that* status all of my life. I have had the status of "male" *all* of my life, while I have had both statuses of "employed" and "unemployed" as well as "successful" student and "failing" student a number of times. In each of these cases, my statuses strongly indicated what I could, and couldn't do, what I was eligible and ineligible to do.

A person may have statuses within family, work, circle of friends, political party, union, church and so on. A person's status determines, in a logical sense, his or her possibilities for acting. A person's self concept is a summary of his or her behaviour possibilities, a summary of the many statuses he or she has. Altogether, this adds up to a global or real world, person-status.

Acts or communications toward a person which reduce his or her eligibilities for behaving are *degradations* [You cannot do this task, you are too dumb]. On the other hand, acts or communications toward a person which *increase* his or her behavioural possibilities are *accreditations*. [You did all the routines very well. Now you can operate the machine on your own]. In either case a status (or revised status) is being assigned to the person.

The power of the concept of "status" resides in the fact that it is a concept which implies a *dynamic connection* between an individual and surrounding others.

⁶In every day living we are engaged hundreds of times daily in what can be called *parametric analysis*. Parametric analysis refers to a method of discriminating one thing from another. For example, all normal individuals can tell red from blue, green from yellow, orange from brown and so on, using the *parameters* of hue, brilliance and saturation. We also discriminate persons and

their actions using parametric analysis. This is how we come to understand (in the common sense world) that Joe is not Jack, but Joe; and that action A is different from action B, C, D, etc. We usually do this unreflectively. However, as a wide-awake counsellor, it is quite helpful to know *what* we are doing, when we are doing it.

Peter Ossorio ("Conceptual-Notational Devices: The PFC and Related Devices" in Davis, K.E., *Advances in Descriptive Psychology*, Vol. 1, 1981, pp. 83-104) has both discussed the importance of parametric analysis and introduced the "Behaviour Formula":

$\langle B = \langle I, W, K, KH, P, A, PC, S \rangle$

I = Refers to the "Identity" of the person whose Behaviour (B) is in question,

W = "Want" This the motivational parameter (wants, needs, purposes, goals),

K = The "Know" or cognitive parameter,

KH = "Know-How", the competence parameter,

P = "Performance" parameter,

A = "Achievement" or outcome parameter,

PC = "Personal Characteristics" parameter,

S = "Significance", value, or meaning parameter.

To convert this behaviour to a sentence as You the counsellor might use it with a client: *Who* is this client, *wanting* what, *knowing* what, *knowing how* to do what, *doing* in what manner, with what *outcome*, influenced by which *personal characteristics*, and with what *meaning* both for the client and for others?

The elements of the behaviour formula are a check-list to be kept in mind as one works with a client's dilemma.

⁷The original source of these conceptualizations is found in Peter Ossorio's paper: *Clinical Topics: A Seminar in Descriptive Psychology*, Boulder: Linguistic Research Institute, 1976. Dr. Richard Driscoll (Policies for Pragmatic Psychotherapy in Davis, K. (Ed.), *Advances in Descriptive Psychology*, Vol. 1, 1981, pp. 273-277), presented an outline of twelve policies for guiding the therapist. I revised (and provided examples for) these policies in *Counselling Disadvantaged Clients*, a paper presented at the International Round Table for the Advancement of Counselling convened at Florence/Montecatini, Italy in April 1981. I have further refined the policy statements in an unpublished manuscript entitled: *A Status-Dynamics Orientation to Counselling*.

⁸I believe that every effort should be made to establish the *concept of person* firmly in counselling literature and discussion. Why is the person concept so important? First, each *human being* [except in pathological instances] con-

siders him or herself to be first and foremost a Person (rather than an animal, a flower, an object, a number, etc.).

Second, paradigmatically, a Person is that entity whose history is a *life-history of Deliberate Action* (Ossorio, Peter. *What Actually Happens*, Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1978).

Emmanuel Mourier (*Personalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952) taught that (a) the Person is *not* an object that can be (without destruction) separated, reduced or converted to quantities; (b) the Person is actually a *center of reorientation*; (c) the Person only exists *toward* others; it only knows itself through being *known by them*; this makes *communication* the primordial fact from which we must start and to which we always return. Persons become *uncertain* and *have troubles* whenever communication is disturbed or corrupted. [See note 3 above about the four maxims of cooperative communication].

Perhaps the most compelling reason for using Person concepts in counseling is that only a Person *acts*, *experiences meaning*, and gives *accounts* (justifications, reasons, explanations). Deliberate Action [that is, distinguishing between two or more alternatives and then *choosing* one over others] is what distinguishes the Person from other living entities.

⁹ As I indicated earlier, counselling has been characterized by an ambiguity and, one might say, an on-going identity crisis for decades. While many factors have entered into the continuing redefinition of counselling, one of the most serious confusions has been the failure to discriminate counselling from therapy.

Conceptually, "therapy entails the application of conceptual machinery to ensure that actual or potential deviants stay within. The institutionalized definitions of reality (Berger and Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality*, New York: Doubleday, 1969, p. 113)." Every society faces the "problem" of deviants so that therapy in some form or another is a global social phenomenon. In different cultural contexts, it takes widely divergent forms including psychoanalysis, exorcism, witchcraft, imprisonment, brain-washing, personnel "counselling", and so on. Therapy requires theories of deviance, diagnostic apparatuses, and a conceptual system for "curing". Broadly speaking, all forms of therapy are forms of social control. Even personal "growth" groups and the various "humanistic" therapies with their focus on self-enhancement and Utopian fantasizing may be conceptualized as *tranquillizing procedures*. As such they act to "contain" individuals within self-centeredness and utopian fantasies and keep persons from taking abrasive actions against those aspects of the society which give rise to their discontent to begin with and from which they long to deviate.

What can be said, then, to establish counselling as a form separate from therapy and [relatively] free from the mis-guidance of scientific psychology?

1. *Counselling does not pre-suppose that persons who seek help [from counselling] are deviant.* Something is going wrong in the everyday conduct of their life. That "something" is not located in their "character-structure" or their "personality" but is in the form of *uncertainty* about what they should do about some aspect of their life which is not working right. In a great majority of help-seeking instances, the crucial element is *decision*. Any *disturbance* is *not* in the deep structures of personality but in the ready-at-hand everyday world in which the person lives. [How to get a better job, what to do with a difficult child, how to build meaning in one's life, whether or not to have elective surgery, whether or not to attempt a reconciliation with one's estranged spouse, which career goal to adopt, etc.]
2. *Counselling pre-supposes face-to-faceness.* The counsellor experiences fellow-persons directly as they share a common sector of time and space, [implying a simultaneity of two streams of consciousness] a counsellor and fellow-person "grow older together". The other's body appears to the counsellor as a set of concrete symptoms through which the fellow-person's conscious life is vividly present. The central feature of the face-to-face aspect of counselling is an awareness that *this* human being is confronting me *in person*. The very action of recognizing this living, conscious being within my reach as a counsellor constitutes the basic form of the *Thou-Orientation*. The Thou-orientation is not reached by judgment or by analogy; I do not deliberate and then achieve a Thou-orientation.

Rather it is my pretheoretical experience of a fellow-person. By this experience I see that a fellow-person *is* before me in full actuality here and now. I recognize this fellow person as alive and conscious — I do not necessarily know the contents of this fellow-person's consciousness, nor the meaning of this person's being before me.

The Thou-orientation can be either one-sided, or reciprocal. It is one-sided if I turn to you in full awareness, but you ignore my presence or remain indifferent. It is reciprocal if I turn to you in full-awareness and you, in turn, orient to me in wide-awakeness.

The Thou-orientation is crucial to counselling for it is the only way one person has of unqualifiedly recognizing that another person is *this* living human being endowed with a consciousness and standing before me *now*.

Of course, as a counsellor I must concern myself with the words and actions of the fellow-person before me since these signify the parameters and

sectors of the objective context for meaning, and symptoms of my fellow-person's subjective contexts for meaning. In other words, I must concern myself with what my client does, plans, thinks, feels, how he accounts for his dilemma, what he does and doesn't know and comprehend about the situation of concern. My ability to work for these objective clarifications with my client pre-supposes, and, indeed, is greatly dependent upon the degree to which the *Thou*-orientation has actualized — there is no such thing as a "pure" *thou*-orientation — it always occurs in some degree of specificity and concreteness.

When I *think about* what the other says, I step outside of the *Thou*-orientation, and to some extent outside of the face-to-face relation. *Thou*-orientation is immediate, on-going and non-reflective. Reflection (and various methods of analysis and interpretation) are *expost facto*.

To think about what a client says, or does, and to exercise a consciousness of one's own thoughts and actions requires stepping outside of the *Thou*-orientation and break the directives of simultaneous experiencing of one person with another. Obviously, it is essential to do this frequently in the counselling "interview". The important points are that counsellor effectiveness in the "working" moments of the interview assume a prior *Thou*-orientation; the *Thou*-orientation can be resumed repeatedly; and counselling as the specific activity which it is pre-supposes face-to-faceness, i.e., the *Thou*-orientation.

Career Development Processes And Interventions: A Prescription for the Guidance Machine

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Outline

- I. Appreciation
 - II. Argument
 - A. Thesis
 - B. Antitheses
 - C. Synthesis
 - III. Design
 - A. Guidance machine
 - B. Machine
 - C. Guidance
 - D. Potential
 - IV. Assessment
 - V. Possibilities
 - VI. Conclusion
- Figure 1. Desired relationship of Guidance Machine
- Figure 2. A developmental Machine scale
- Figure 3. A developmental Guidance scale
- Figure 4. A developmental Guidance Machine Space
- Exhibit 1. Partial list of Guidance Machine resources available to Canada through Occupational and Career Analysis and Development Branch, Employment and Immigration Canada
- Exhibit 2. Contrast in Japanese and American models of organizations (after Ouchi, 1981, p. 58)

Exhibit 3. National Institute for the Advancement of Career Education

A. NIACE Career Education Design Library

B. Brochure (sixth collated draft)

References

Appreciation

I know honor upon this presentation in your National Consultation in Vocational Guidance. I trust I can make our precious time together in this Consultation enduringly useful. I shall do my best to do so.

I know several in Canada who labor in common purpose with me. For instance, I have come to know the work of D. Stuart Conger, William Harle, Gordon Booth, Luc Bégin and JoAnn Sobkow who all develop your excellent guidance materials in the Occupational and Career Analysis and Development Branch, Employment and Immigration Canada. I have also studied the guidance and counseling works of Albert Herman and Wally Unruh who profess at the University of Calgary, of Gerald Sankey who professes at the University of Saskatchewan, and of William W. Dick who counsels at the University of Waterloo. My consultations and studies with these fine minds of yours have developed into warm friendships which I cherish. These persons have largely given me the impression of guidance and counseling in Canada which I address today in the trust that we can together move our understandings of guidance and counseling somewhat farther into personal comprehension. However, I am responsible for what I do today. They are not.

Argument

Thesis

I speak today because Mr. D. Stuart Conger, Director, Occupational and Career Analysis and Development Branch, Employment and Immigration Canada, sensed at the Invitational Consultation on the Process of Adult Development in Ottawa on 9-10 March 1981 that I had recently experienced perspective and cognitive transformation. Mr. Conger therefore kindly invited me to share that transformation today. I accepted because such an invitation challenged me. My challenge is to articulate understandably that which is new to me and powerful for you. Such is the fusion in thought and action which leads to further self development. That is the continual evolutionary challenge for each of us: to develop more in general purpose being through-

out life.

As I understand your government, Canada has no Department of Education. In addition, at the federal level Canada vests responsibility for the preparation of guidance materials in Employment and Immigration Canada which makes its materials available to all Provinces and the nation as a whole. This allocation of authority creates separation in the functions of schooling and the transition to employment in the several times in life during which this transition now occurs. But the United States are little better off. The States have a Federal Department of Education and a Federal Department of Labor. However, the States constitutionally reserve the conduct of education for themselves and the Federal Department of Education generally has none but incentive and accounting controls over education in the States. In addition, our Department of Labor has responsibility for the construction of our national guidance materials and has some, but not great, control over the State offices which deliver its services and provide its statistics.

The deliberate structural weaknesses which both our governments assume in facilitating unions of school and labor for citizens point to a necessity which deserves stress far beyond that which we normally give it. Since neither of our governments take responsibility for literally guiding our citizens, each citizen must do so for herself or himself in our countries. These are powers which Canadian and American citizens have reserved unto themselves. Fine: both the formation and the pursuit of purpose throughout life are then legally individual matters. However, people only come by the formation and pursuit of purpose through individual comprehension of human intelligence and that basically requires mastery of the very comprehension process itself. There are things which we can do in association with schooling and job getting which can insure such comprehension more effectively than happens spontaneously. I address those things today in asking you to design a Guidance Machine with me, a Guidance Machine which will have the effect of becoming prosthetic to the minds of citizens, not the effect of determining the minds and thus the lives of our citizens. I believe it can be done. That is my thesis.

Antitheses

Two obvious antitheses to a Guidance Machine prosthetic to the individual mind which has the effect of facilitating citizens' choosing without determining their decisions spring to mind immediately.

We might call the first of these obvious antitheses the Mindless Antithesis. In this antithesis, human intelligence does not figure at all in successive transitions from school to later purposes. In the Mindless Antithesis, all individual action occurs by chance, without a single thought.

We might call the second of the obvious antitheses the Determined Antithesis. In this antithesis, individual intelligence is not permitted to function at all in school-to-purpose transitions. Some force or someone prohibits human choice in successive transitions from school to later purposes. If some force prohibits individual participation in the making of some purposes, all individuals are subject to that force in some way. However, if some persons prohibit others from individual participation in making purposeful decisions, some persons have freedom of choice while others do not. For instance, teachers might choose and students do not. Or, bosses may choose and workers may not. Or, governments may choose and non-governmental members may not. But in all such cases in which someone prohibits another from choosing some persons have to deal with controlling others while controlled persons have to deal with being controlled.

Synthesis

The Mindless and Determined Antitheses now enable detailed specification of the conditions under which we can design a Guidance Machine appropriate to social and school conditions in our two countries. Since the Mindless Antithesis prevails when human intelligence remains inactive, we should design activation of human intelligence into our Guidance Machine. In Ouspensky's (1974) terms, our Guidance Machine must at the very least awaken persons to their consciousness.

The Determined Antithesis prevails when human intelligence is repressed by universe or social forces. Human beings adapt to universe repression of the internal force to general purpose being in life through biological evolution. Natural biologic evolution takes many generations. That form of evolution therefore has such a long term that it can usefully be excluded from the design of our Guidance Machine. However, we must not overlook the fact that human beings today cooperate with human evolution during their human developments through genetic engineering and psycho-social engineering as well. Human being evolves into what human beings think! Therefore, this form by which humans transcend determined human choices cannot be overlooked in the design of our Guidance Machine.

The Determined Antithesis also prevails when human intelligence must be broken if comprehension of comprehending is to become more universal in our societies. Designs for casting off such shackling of human intelligence should therefore be built into our Guidance Machine. But we must do so with caution. In the first place, we should exclude solutions which tear our societies apart, not let them continue to function as modifiable units under transformational change. In the second place, we must acknowledge the

inevitable: in order to awaken persons from their sleep in the Mindless Antithesis, we deliberately have to use the social half of the Determined Antithesis. In short, it takes teaching to empower freedom in the human intelligence unless we remain content with spontaneous generation of comprehending comprehension alone. The problem then is to design the Guidance Machine so that it encourages inquiry but does not determine decision. I believe such a design to be possible. Let's together consider how to do it.

Design

I have so far spoken of a Guidance Machine several times without specifying it. Since you are now familiar with the term and wondering what it means, let's specify it.

Guidance Machine

Imagine some facts/data. Facts/data are things known to another. Ordinarily these known-to-another facts/data are facts/data in which *we* believe someone else should ground a decision. Otherwise we would not consider those facts/data important. Here's where the social pressure enters our Guidance Machine.

However, we must remember that individuals inquiring into our facts/data might seek other facts/data which we have not provided in our Machine. Those facts/data can also be important to the person on personal grounds. This means that our facts/data must be acknowledged as potentially incomplete although we continue to consider them important. In short, we have to proceed with full knowledge that our facts/data may be necessary but are not sufficient. Individuals will have to provide some facts/data for themselves.

I use the awkward term "facts/data" on purpose. I want to specify the fixed and modifiable conditions of facts which we consider important in the design of our Guidance Machine. Facts are to be directly recoverable without modification except for storage and later retrieval. On the other hand, data consist of facts which must be additionally processed by the numeric and/or linguistic routines of the modifying system of our Guidance Machine.

Either unmodified facts or previously modified data need to be further mediated if they are to be turned into information (interpreted facts). So in relation to the information purpose we want to achieve with our Guidance Machine, facts/data share a common role although they are also differentiable in the Machine as fixed or modifiable facts.

Now imagine a person. You or I will do. Suppose that we want to interpret

some "facts/data". When we do, we form information, formed inside "facts/data". I surround such "facts/data" with quotation marks because they are different inside us from the necessarily same facts/data someone else made available to us through a Guidance Machine. "Facts/data" are facts/data enlivened through interpretation by the person who assimilates and accommodates them. Known-to-another facts/data become information only when they reach a level in the person's mind at which they are freely guiding the person. That is, the known-to-another facts/data must be at a level in which they are not alone assimilated on an inquiring person's terms; they must be accommodated on that individual's terms as well. Otherwise, while moving to construct a Guidance Machine which has the effect of keeping individuals from being Mindless about career, we inadvertently Determine the other's career.

Now imagine a Guidance Machine. Think of the Guidance Machine as coming between the Person and our Facts/data as is sketched in Figure 1.

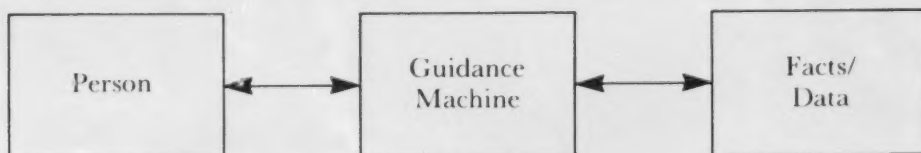


Figure 1, Desired Relationship of Guidance Machine

Furthermore let's seek a design for the Guidance Machine so that two conditions are realized. First our Guidance Machine must be designed so that it draws a person into relationship with it. Figuratively speaking, the Machine must at this first level bring the person inside itself. The Machine must also at this first level bring facts/data inside itself and then figuratively arrange for facts/data to get inside the person who is then figuratively inside the Machine as well.

When we have a Guidance Machine which can effect this miracle, we have half the design problem licked. The remaining half of the design problem remains that of empowering the person to take the Guidance Machine into herself or himself. This switch from being inside the Guidance Machine to having the Guidance Machine inside one's self ordinarily gets overlooked in Guidance. We do in Guidance insist that our facts/data get inside the person but we overlook simultaneously getting our Guidance Machine inside the person as well. However, unless we empower our students to do what we do to guide them, we will blast them from their usual Mindless state into a Determined state without achieving the Awakened synthesis we seek in Guidance.

How do we design the Guidance Machine so it Awakens and Empowers, not Determines, persons? Let's look more carefully first at the Machine aspect of that design problem and then at the Guidance aspect of that problem.

Machine

As you know, if we can specify something pretty exactly, we can ordinarily construct a machine which will repeat those exact operations in ways we consider efficient. As a result we get a product we presumably want at a price we prove willing to pay. This is what technology sets up. But such machines which we ordinarily encounter in our factories and businesses remain fixed machines. They do not change. This is a first level of the concept "Machine" I would like you to remember, the fixed level.

A computer is a machine which can direct production. However, a computer happens to be a machine with a big difference from that of a fixed machine. The big difference about the computing machine is that it can be successively turned into many machines. For instance, if we change the program on the computer, it becomes another machine entirely. All this can be done, of course, without hammers and pliers and the like. That is, we don't have to refashion the basic computer hardware. We merely have to refashion the operating computer software. This is a second level of the concept "Machine" I would like you to remember, the variable level. Remember though that, if you fix a variable machine in a single form and use it repeatedly in that form, you can turn a level 2 machine into a level 1 machine but not the reverse.

Another nifty thing about the computer is that it basically consists of switches which can be turned on or off without regard for whether you direct them to operate on other switches in the computer which are also turned on or off to register facts/data, not operations. That is, the computer can itself be partitioned to store and to operate on stores. In this mode operations apply functions to facts/data, not the reverse. This partitioned feature of the level 2 or variable concept "Machine" creates a level 2A "Machine". A level 2A "Machine" allows you to partition the computing machine so that higher order functional programs operate upon lower order functional programs to change them. This introduces a level 2B of the concept "Machine", a level of operations upon operations, not just upon data.

When computers operate upon their operators, they seem to think that they begin to accomplish some things with seeming judgment which we have heretofore prided ourselves on as being solely the function of being human. Lest you be sanguine about how far such artificial intelligence has presently

taken humankind forward into conscious operation listen closely to the following summary from 1978 Nobel Prize Winner Herbert Simon's 1981 paper, "Studying Human Intelligence by Creating Artificial Intelligence":

"The system known as BACON.4, whose principal designer is my colleague P. W. Langley, seeks to discover lawful regularities in bodies of numerical data The process of scientific discovery is sometimes driven by data, sometimes by theory, and perhaps most often by a combination of both. BACON.4 explores the data-driven aspects of discovery. Given data on the distances of the planets and the periods of their orbits, BACON.4 quickly rediscovers Kepler's third law. Given data on an electric circuit with different lengths of resistance wire, it rediscovers Ohm's law. In a similar manner, it rediscovers the universe square-law of gravitational attraction, Snell's law of diffraction, Black's law of temperature, and many of the chemical laws discovered by Dalton, Gay-Lussac, Avogadro, and Cannizzaro in the first half of the nineteenth century." (p. 307)

Before you dismiss these rediscoveries with disdain because they are not discoveries, listen to one more claim which Simon makes:

"In this final section I should like to consider what is known about how human beings arrive at solutions to truly novel problems in domains for which the solver does not possess a specific algorithm. From a psychological standpoint there cannot be any differences between processes of original discovery and processes of independent rediscovery. . . ." (p. 307)

So far as BACON.4 is concerned then, its artificial intelligence has already rediscovered what we formerly thought only human beings could discover. Thus, BACON.4 seems to do a quite effective job of solving problems of numeric analysis in which the solver does not originally possess a specific algorithm. There's where the human mind can let itself become prosthetic to BACON.4 and possess this level 2B power of the concept "Machine" which most of us do not ordinarily exercise in everyday activity. But also credit BACON.4 with why Simon made reference to it. BACON.4 also tells us explicit things about human intelligence itself when we consider BACON.4 itself to be a model of intelligence. Models of intelligence represent artificial intelligence, of course. Models of intelligence are not actual intelligence.

OK, so the computer is externally a first level "Machine". Internally, the computer is a second-level variable Machine. Furthermore, the computer is internally a machine in which we can model something and not alone get that model to operate on data at a level 2A of Machine. We can also model *modifi-*

cation of its original models so that the system will fit the data better and better at a level 2B of Machine, a level at which variable functions operate on fixed functions which operate on non-functions or "facts/data".

Now Jane and John Q. Public ordinarily credit level 1 and level 2 Machine functions to computers. Some citizens do so with pride in the new power thereby granted humankind, power to notch ever farther forward into consciousness by working explicitly with universe conditions more rapidly and more powerfully than heretofore. Other citizens do so with fear, fear that machines will not only take away their jobs but reduce circulatable income available to people as well. Some citizens even have the more general but groundless fear that machines might take over civilization itself.

But a little known level 1 and level 2 computer condition is the converse of these better known computer conditions. It is, of course, true that we can ordinarily computerize something which we can proceduralize as conventional wisdom specifies. This is the principle which places producing functions into the ever more densely intelligent environments of a technological kind. However, the converse of this principle is that you can *also* computerize something which is not fully proceduralized beforehand. This is an important principle for Guidance, a principle not yet markedly present in our so-called computer Guidance systems. Practically all of our so far computerized Guidance systems are of the common kind of computer systems, those in which all the Guidance functions are fully proceduralized beforehand. However, the real power of the computer or of the Machine in Guidance is the second or uncommon kind of computer system, a computer system in which individuals have to interact with the very computer program itself in order to further proceduralize *it* so that *they* can computerize regularities in their interpretations of phenomena with which they can then personally interact on a simulation basis. This is a level 2B, an operation-upon-operating function level of the Machine concept in which human judgment is read in at open places in an incompletely programmed system. The ISVD (Information System for Vocational Decisions) which several Harvard-Newton and NEEDS colleagues and I (see Tiedeman, 1979) programmed in Cambridge, Massachusetts during late 1960 was of this open, level 2B kind of Guidance Machine. This is the kind of Guidance Machine which can (1) wake inquirers up (2) while offering inquiry in Guidance matters, and (3) create an audit trail in which the system and the inquirer can build new patterns with which the inquirer can eventually interact on a personal basis, perhaps even a unique basis if no other inquirer ever enters the identical principles at any time.

I'm sure you experience the direction that my specification of Machine design takes us. I went from fixed Machines to variable Machines. Within

variable Machines I then specified a simple kind in which fixed operations act upon facts/data within the system. I then specified a variable kind in which operations are themselves partitioned into those which are fixed and those which operate in a prescribed fashion upon the fixed operations. I then specified two sub-sets of the latter. The first such sub-set was the original kind, the prescribed operators interacting with the fixed operators. The new sub-set consists of incompletely prescribed operators which can in turn operate upon the fixed operators. These incompletely prescribed operators are purposefully left open so that curious individuals can proceed along with the prescribed functions until such time as modification proves necessary because of startling results which the prescribed operators produce or because of intuitions which the interacting individual possesses which make the prescribed operators operate better on the fixed operators.

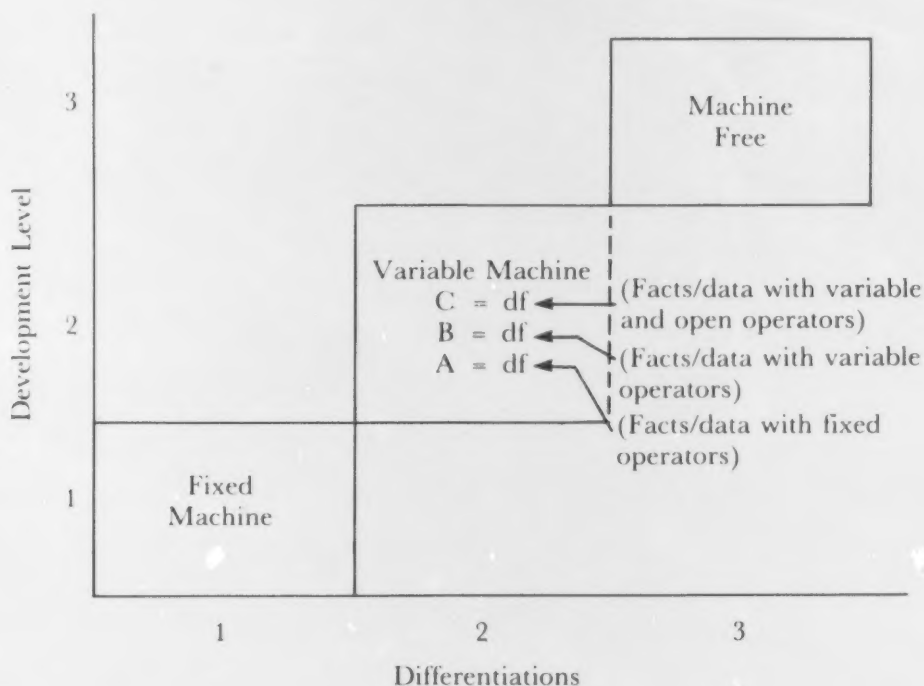


Figure 2, A Developmental Machine Scale

We are now at an extremely important point in this line of reason. Why have a physical Machine present at all? Why not just operate formally in the world producing what you do from habit, next introduce functions which

modify your habits in ways you wish to have them modified, and then make a habit of modifying your habits? You can be explicit about doing so or not as you see fit. But at least you can be definite about explaining what you are doing to another. Let's call this machine-less concept of our Machine level 3.

Note that we got to level 3 by way of levels 1 and 2. That is given level 3, we can find levels 1 and 2 in that level. However, given either level 1 or level 2 or both, we cannot find level 3 in either. This property defines a Machine scale for us. That Machine scale would also be a development scale in Piaget's concepts because de-differentiation is possible as well as differentiation being present (see Peatling, 1981, chapter 7 for details). For the mind's sake, let's visualize this de-differentiable scale as in figure 2.

Guidance

So much then for initial specification of the Machine concept in our Guidance Machine. What should our Guidance Machine be like for us to say that it had "Guided"?

Now this seemingly simple question deserves careful attention. This supposedly simple question has formed and guided development of the Guidance function in education and work on our continent throughout this century. And we all know that that development has a checkered history. We have gone from Guidance to counseling and are only recently beginning to realize that we threw the Guidance baby out with its bathwater. Today we are therefore engaged in rediscovering a Guidance which subsumes Counseling, not the reverse. With only Counseling you cannot achieve development except spontaneously. With Guidance, of which counseling is a part, you can construct a Guidance Machine in which the person finally accommodates the Machine, not the reverse.

In order to achieve Developmental Guidance in our Guidance Machine let us first surround the choices it supposedly Guides with the most relevant facts/data bearing upon each choice. In this fashion, we insure that our Guidance advances from the solid grounds in what supposedly "is". A choice is a preference for one of two or more alternatives which is made within the uncertainty of deciding when you do not fully know the facts to come. By insisting that our Guidance Machine extends this minimal capability to those inquiring of the Machine, we will, of course, be expecting that choice be Mindful, not Mindless. Our Guidance Machine should espouse that ethic.

Second, let's program our Guidance Machine so that it places an inquirer into relationship with facts/data so that the inquirer has to operate upon facts/data in order to lend them meaning. This, of course, means that we will have to have: (A) some standard operations, (B) some standard means of modifying operations, and (C) some personal means of writing standards of

modification which have the effect of modifying the standard means of modifying the fixed standards. By insisting that our Guidance machine extend this minimal capability to those inquiring of the Machine, we will, of course, be expecting that decision be Personal, not Determined. Guidance Machine should espouse that ethic as well as its Mindful ethic.

Third, let's program our Guidance Machine so that it provides enough practice and help in bringing the inquirer's capability of operating in the Variable Machine mode so that the inquirer will, with practised ease, prove able to introduce personal means of writing standards of modification which have the effect of modifying standard means of modifying the fixed standards. By insisting that our Guidance Machine extend this minimal capability to those inquiring of the Machine, we will of course be expecting that decisions be Mindful, Personal, and Comprehended, not Mindless, Determined, and only Assimilated. Our Guidance Machine should espouse all three of these ethics.

Finally, let us program our Guidance Machine so that it focuses upon the experience of deciding as an event which is itself capable of analysis, not just of practice. That is, let us program the Machine so that it not alone empowers comprehension *in* deciding, it also empowers comprehension *of* deciding. At the primitive or third level of participation *in* deciding analyses, outside programming of the decision process largely prevails. However, if such analyses are simultaneously offered with opportunity to analyse the personal experience of reaching one or another level of the decision paradigm *while* deciding, the inquirer is then encouraged to attain a fourth developmental level, a level at which the inquirer cannot just decide with practised ease (i.e. comprehend *in* deciding) but can also personally know the decision process with practised ease (i.e. gain comprehension *of* deciding while being *in* deciding). Movement from the third level up to this fourth level can be achieved by seizing upon the immediately available personal knowledge in decisions of the moment or use their then regnant processes as teaching material in which generalization from the event to comprehension of the comprehending process in intelligence itself can ensue, first under supervised practice and gradually with accommodation of the process itself. By insisting that our Guidance Machine extend this minimal capability to those inquiring in the Machine, we will of course be expecting that decisions be Mindful, Personal, Comprehended, and that the decision process be comprehended as well. This means that we expect both that decisions will not themselves remain Mindless, Determined, and only Assimilated but that the process of deciding will itself not remain Mindless, Determined and only Assimilated as well. Our Guidance Machine should espouse all four of these ethics at level 4.

We have now designed Guidance into our Guidance Machine at four

levels. Furthermore, we have created those levels so that we got to level 4 by way of levels 1, 2 and 3. Therefore, given level 4 in our scale we can identify levels 3, 2 and 1 in it. But levels 1; 2 and 3 do not reflect level 4 directly. We have therefore once again created a de-differentiable Guidance scale in parallel to our de-differentiable Machine scale. Our Guidance scale is represented in Figure 3.

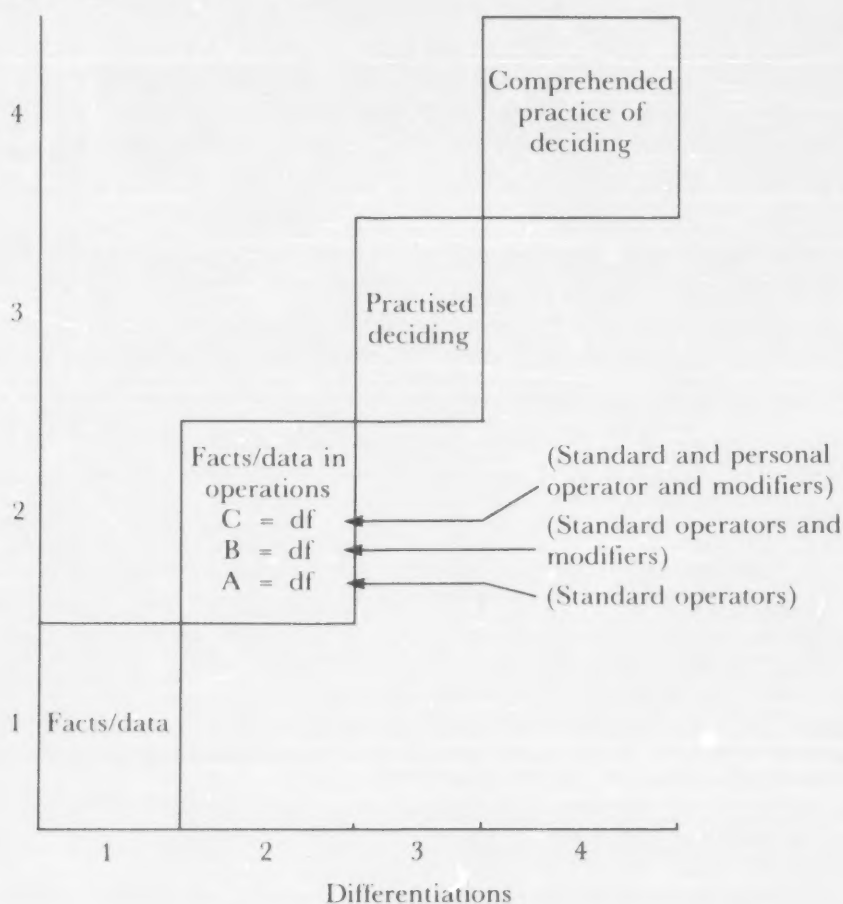


Figure 3, A Developmental Guidance Scale

Potential

My thesis is that both the formation and pursuit of purpose in the human

life are legally individual matters in Canada and the United States. I believe, however, that the formation and pursuit of purpose in the human life has to be grounded in individual comprehension of human intelligence. Furthermore, I consider such comprehension attainable during human development if such possible development is empowered throughout life. Finally, I am convinced that we can do things in schooling and job getting which insure such comprehension more effectively than happens spontaneously. That means that we have to make comprehension of the comprehension process itself develop.

A Guidance Machine designed as specified will have the effect necessary for empowering development in individual formation and pursuit of purpose in your country and mine. My specifications derived a threefold de-differentiable scale for the Machine which does the needed job. My specifications similarly derived a fourfold de-differentiable scale for the Guidance which does the needed job. Now let's put these two developmental scales together into a single Guidance Machine space as is done in Figure 4. These two developmental scales together offer a framework within which we can assess not only the developmental progress of individuals but also the effectiveness of programs designed to empower individual mastery in this union of developmental forces.

Putting two developmental scales together as in Figure 4 gives us new potential. We now have a hypothetical developmental space in which development of *both* a Guidance dimension and a Machine dimension can take place simultaneously. Surely, we who profess Guidance want the Machine dimension to be the agent by which the Guidance dimension advances. But just as surely, we want harmony in the two dimensions. The Machine dimension should therefore act upon the Guidance dimension so that the restraints we have built into the Guidance dimension are not violated. Those constraints consist of creating Mindfulness out of Mindlessness, avoiding Determinism while still being explicit, and achieving Awareness and Empowerment from activities with individuals, not from activities on individuals.

What stipulations should we then place upon bi-dimensional consideration of the Guidance and the Machine developmental scales?

First, let's stipulate that one to one correspondence should exist between each similar point on the two scales. This will lead to the naming of the intersects at the (1,1) and (2,2) coordinates in fairly straightforward fashions. The (1,1) combination is simply the grounding of decision in facts/data through a fixed Machine. The (2,2) combination also rather simply becomes the empowering of mind operation with facts/data by interaction with them in the Variable Machine. Remember from Figures 2 and 3 that the variable Machine can be of three sub-types and lead to advancing three sub-levels in

4 (Comprehension of deciding process)	(1,4)	(2,4)	Machine free comprehension <i>in</i> deciding	Internalized comprehension <i>of</i> deciding
3 (Comprehension of decisions)	(1,3)	(2,3)	(3,3) Machine free practice <i>in</i> decision	(4,3)
2 (Operations)	(1,2)	(2,2) Variable Machine presented facts/ data in operations	(3,2)	(4,2)
1 (Facts/data)	(1,1) Fixed Machine presented facts/data	(2,1)	(3,1)	(4,1)
	1 (Fixed)	2 (Variable)	3 (Free)	4 (Internal)

Developmental Machine Levels

Figure 4, A Developmental Guidance Machine Scale

mind operations. However, at the (3,3) and the (4,4) intersect we will experience difficulty in uniting the originally three-point Machine scale and our four-point Guidance scale. This condition suggests that our specification of Guidance has exposed a link missing in our specification of Machine. Therefore, let's decide to move up to the (4,4) coordinate from the (3,3) coordinate by way of the (3,4) coordinate. In doing so, we must attend to our intended distinction of the comprehensions both of decision and of deciding in levels 3 and 4, respectively, in our developmental Guidance scale. The result will be as indicated in Figure 4. The machine free operation of decision knowledge first leads to machine free decisions of individual natures which are achieved with practised ease. As this experience is made the center of analysis, inquirers will first achieve "machine free comprehension *in* deciding" which is noted in coordinate (3,4). The attainment of that level will then empower internalization of the Machine so that individuals can themselves be Machines with practised ease in their daily decisions but thereby become more human by comprehending the deciding process with which they have then empowered themselves. This moves understanding from the (3,4) coordinate into the (4,4) coordinate, "internalized comprehension *of* deciding". The more explicit specification of Guidance purposes thereby leads to compatible specification of "Machine" purposes which are originally non-specifiable in terms of just the hardware of machines themselves. What we want to do can extend what we could do! That is, if you can make intelligence more explicit, you can then make its conceptual manifestation more internally tangible as well.

Now let's apply our stipulation that Machine empower Guidance to the eleven unlabelled coordinates in Figure 4. Hypothetically, individual interaction with a higher than developed Guidance level of Machine operation will form preconscious images which are personally integrated into individual consciousness and which then move the person to a next higher level on the Guidance developmental scale itself. Thus the coordinates above the principal diagonal in Figure 4 are preconscious experiences which the Machine can produce and which the individual can convert into advances on the Guidance developmental scale. Conversely, individual thought about a higher than developed Machine level of Guidance operation will form preconscious images which are personally integrated into individual consciousness and which then move the person to a next higher level on the Machine developmental scale. Thus the coordinates below the principal diagonal in Figure 4 are preconscious experiences which Guidance development can produce and which the individual can convert into advance on the Machine developmental scale. The postulated relationship is a reciprocal one. Furthermore, as the relationship between Machine and Guidance becomes

more active and more powerful, the individual moves up the diagonal in Figure 4 by becoming master of both the Machine (the formal) and the Guidance (the personal) analogues at each level.

In summary then, our developmental Guidance Machine space presumes that a higher level Guidance state can illuminate a lower level Machine state or consolidate it. Conversely, any two adjacent levels of a Machine state used simultaneously can move a person from the lower Guidance state into a next higher Guidance state of the Guidance pair equivalent to the operating Machine pair. We have thereby stipulated not only a self developmental Guidance scale, we have also stipulated a dynamic of Machine and Guidance which leads to development up the Guidance scale. Any who are interested can find a detailed specification of the necessary self developmental scale from several sources. Anna Miller-Tiedeman (1980) prefers to use the Loevinger ego development scale as basis of the self development necessarily undergirding the hypothetical Guidance scale. John Peatling and I (Peatling and Tiedeman, 1977) prefer our own self constructionist group model of personality reconstructionism for that purpose.

Assessment

Now that we have our minds disciplined to the Guidance Machine developmental space, let's let them soar with the Guidance Machine inside our minds, not exterior to them. Let's see what we have learned by causing our minds to converge as we now let them diverge.

First, return to Figure 1. There we have a perfectly general form of three parts. It merely says that if you have your own facts/data and if you have a Person whom you want to assimilate them, then you need to consider a Guidance Machine if you wish to put your Facts/data into the person. We then indicated how we would proceed to do so in Figures 2, 3, and 4 but we did so within the constraints of our original Argument. We designed a Guidance Machine which first puts the Facts/data into a Machine, then puts the Person into the Machine, and then puts the Machine into the Person. The self transcendence implicit in the last move represents the mastery criterion which we implicitly pursue in Guidance without explicitly admitting doing so. As a consequence, we fail to realize its dependence of the previous two conditions, the provision of facts/data and their mixture with the Person in a Machine which was to be common to the two.

Take, for instance, the fine set of resources which the Occupational and Career Analysis and Development Branch, Employment and Immigration Canada, makes available to counselors in Canada. Exhibit 1 lists the ones

with which I gained familiarity during a consultation in the agency from 9-13 March 1981 inclusive. This is, of course, only a partial list of what you have at your disposal. However, it is sufficient unto my present purpose.

My purpose is to have us think together of the part which these materials play as a system in the general Guidance Machine structure specified in Figure 1. Are these materials (and others like them which are not specifically

Exhibit 1

Partial List of Guidance Machine
Resources Available to Canada through
Occupational and Career Analysis and Development Branch,
Employment and Immigration Canada

1. Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations
2. Careers Canada
3. Careers Provinces
4. College and University Programs in Canada
5. Creating a Career
6. General Aptitude Test Battery
7. Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory
8. CHOICES
9. JOBSCAN

itemized) Facts/data? The Guidance Machine? Or the Person?

Let's start with my last question first, since its answer is obvious. No, Exhibit 1 materials are not Person.

If Exhibit 1 materials are not the Person, are they then the Guidance Machine? Now this is a more difficult question and therefore must be approached with more care.

The first thing we can note is that, since these materials, as a Guidance Machine, lack the Person as immediately admitted, then they also lack that element of the Guidance Machine which I have specified in Figures 2, 3 and 4, namely the element of my Guidance Machine which presumes that a Person becomes one with the Machine.

We must then pause and note how these materials presume that a Person becomes one with them. Although none of the materials are constructed on the presumption that individuals will not or cannot use them directly, most of them are constructed on the assumption that the Person has access to these materials only through a counselor. Unfortunately, even CHOICES, which is the one material most invitingly provided for direct Person-material interaction, still caters to this longstanding assumption that no one knows as counselors know and that everyone only gets to know through counselors, not

through direct interaction of Person-with enveloping materials.

A second thing we can note in wondering if Exhibit 1 materials constitute the Guidance Machine is that they are things of different kinds. They consist of classifications and of career construction skills, of educational and of job transformational tables, of career possibilities, of job opportunities, and of elements and of system concepts. But they are not organized that way. In fact, people who use Guidance materials are largely expected to organize such materials themselves.

I note that the listed Guidance material lacks organizational structure. This practice is standard with Guidance material wherever I have encountered it. Most Guidance materials are "marketed" with the supposition that individuals will induce their functions within a larger system and let the knowledge they then convey function in the larger system. This is the ordinary assumption of a person's responsibility for what another person knows. Freedom ultimately rests in the application of this presumption in the appreciated power of its personal comprehension. But such power comes from a personally provided organization, not from having counselors serve as intermediaries between Guidance material and Persons as we presently arrange. Counselors thereby become that part of the Guidance Machine which lends articulation to separated parts. Presumably such articulation has meaning in the merging career conceptions of the Guided Persons. However, in practice, the articulation has more to do with the logic of material content than with the psycho-logic of a Person becoming empowered by the ever more comprehensive and incisive detail of directing personal and life forces. Counselors thereby become a part of our social problem, not of its solution as they should be.

If your Canadian Guidance material is to provide comprehension of personal career power in freedom, something will have to be done about making into a system elements such as those itemized in Exhibit 1 without organization. A present assumption is that the counselor can and should do so comprehensively. The fact of the matter is that the counselor cannot do so and should not do so. A related fact is that students can do so and should. However, a consequence of these related facts is that materials such as those itemized in Exhibit 1 will have to be put into a different Guidance Machine than that which they presently constitute. My purpose today has been to outline the structure of the needed Guidance Machine. I shall say more of this conclusion later. Right now, I want to finish consideration of the three questions I asked in the introduction of this assessment.

The principal question I asked in the introduction of my assessment was: Are the materials itemized in Exhibit 1 the Facts/data in Figure 1? The simple answer to that question can now be seen to be, "yes and no". It is

apparent that any existing Guidance material concerns what was, not what will be. Furthermore, it is apparent that any object stands in potential relationship to something else as a fact of that whole. For instance, I have deliberately used Exhibit 1 as a Fact/data of my assessment of your present Guidance Machine. In similar fashion each of the nine pieces mentioned in Exhibit 1 figure as Facts/data in it. So in this very general sense of my question, the materials itemized in Exhibit 1 are Facts/data of something. We just do not know what.

However, the question can be given a specific meaning as well. For instance, the question can be reframed to read: Are the materials listed in Exhibit 1 Facts/data of a Guidance Machine? My previous analysis of whether the materials are a part of the Guidance Machine or not, bears on this question. I consider it generally apparent from that prior analysis that the materials listed in Exhibit 1 are not, at their general level, Facts/data because they are not deliberately constructed for the self developmental context which is necessary for my conception of the Guidance Machine. Some elements of each of the listed items probably do contain Facts/data for the self developmental context necessary to my conception of the Guidance Machine. The trouble is that no individual or counselor can readily identify, locate, and use those Facts/data in their necessary contexts. Those Facts/data presently programmed as CHOICES probably come as close as any Facts/data to meeting this test of inclusiveness for my self construction Guidance Machine. However, even those Facts/data are devoid of the personal Facts/data about personal decision processes which must become a central part of any societal Guidance Machine if it is to have the effect of moving persons to coordinate (4,4) of Figure 4 in the course of a life. Except through spontaneous means, the present programming of CHOICES cannot bring Guidance internalization any farther up the Guidance development than that of level 2A, treatment of Facts/data with fixed operators resulting in mastery of the standard operators, not in the self construction of personal operators.

Again let me be more precise in making this observation than I have so far been, in order that I can be more fair about the Canadian application of it to your materials. I know of only two existing computing guidance systems which can possibly move persons to levels of my Guidance development scale beyond the level 2A which I claim to be the limit of CHOICES. Those two systems are SIGI (System for Interactive Guidance and Instruction) and DISCOVER. On the one hand, SIGI forces its users to specify their values and to experience the consequences of their pattern on their occupational opportunities. DISCOVER, on the other hand, instructs persons in decision making and rudimentarily encourages them to use that person's knowledge as a part of the Facts/data then used for occupational decision and plan. In

both these cases, activity is very primitively arranged at level 2B of my Machine development scales (Figure 2) which in potential brings individuals to initial functioning at level 2B of my Guidance development scale and to have vague preconscious experience of level 2C. But no computer guidance system which I know presently goes any farther towards the (4,4) coordinate in my developmental scale of a fully functioning Guidance Machine.

Possibilities

If I conclude my assessment stating that only two American computer guidance systems can possibly bring their inquirers any higher than a primitive level 2B on the Figure 3 developmental Guidance scale and a vague intuitive level 2C on that scale, and if I conclude that assessment indicating that CHOICES cannot bring its inquirers beyond level 2A with practised ease or level 2B intuitively, why have I taken so much of our time specifying a fully functioning Guidance Machine which will break Mindlessness without suffering Determinism? That's a good, "So what, Tiedeman?" question.

First, let me be clear that I have not made my statement to incite Canadian-American rivalry in the Guidance computer field. At 62, I at last know that we achieve more in the universe cooperatively than we do competitively (see Thomas' 1981 argument on this point if so inclined). Competition is merely the more immediate operation in a local region of residual and conscious power and achievement needs which persons suffer when their choices move from what O'Hara and I (Tiedeman and O'Hara, 1963) call the Induction phase into the Reformation phase of a decision development process and do not yet enjoy the comprehension of Integration. Therefore competition does not possess the enduring nature that cooperation possesses. Instead I made my statement of limits on American and Canadian computer guidance systems to let the world know that there are miles ahead before world citizens can rest if they seek to a society in which a majority of our citizens function at the (4,4) level of Guidance Machine development depicted in Figure 4.

Second, let me address what must be a doubt in asking the question I have attributed to you. Why is a Guidance Machine necessary to make such a point? My answer is simple. If we are to progress in Guidance, we must give ourselves the capacity to be more specific about the general than we have so far managed. Thinking of a Person-Machine relationship which has the three parts of Person, Guidance Machine, and Facts/data so empowers me. In this system, I am able to specify a developmental scale which: (1) starts with hav-

ing Person and Facts/data figuratively together in a Guidance Machine; (2) programs the Person-Facts/data relationship so that it advances in the Person's mind construction through steps in which the Person is (a) directed by the Facts/data, (b) operates with the Facts/data and (c) operates with the Facts/data plus the personal knowledge gained from such operation; and (3) gets Person to center the Machine in self in differentiated fashion at first and later in de-differentiated or re-integrated fashions. Furthermore, I am able to understand that my Machine has to be programmed so that the context of what is known to another has to be widened as a Person is empowered. The widening has: (1) to give facts; (2) set facts in contexts; (3) yield personal interpretations of facts in their contexts; and (4) result in personally interpreting the self while engaging in interpreting facts in their original contexts.

Now once I can deal with common reality as facts/data in the contexts of others while simultaneously dealing with the personal knowledge about interpreting and acting upon those alleged facts in my own interests, I have a considerable power in what our governments were formed to facilitate, living in responsible individuality. I learn my lesson at that point by not thinking of my Machine as a mere computer but by thinking about my Machine as all those technical and formal arrangements existing in my society to perpetuate common realities rather than to encourage and empower personal realities. When I do this, I now think of my society as a Machine as specified in Figure 2.

I use the concept "Machine" in attempting to think profoundly about our society because intelligent machines are forerunners of merging our second-wave industrial age into our third-wave postindustrial age (Toffler, 1980). Our third-wave postindustrial age will feature Information as primary value, not Goods as our second-wave society did. This is not to say that Goods will not become a necessary by-product of Information. Instead, it is to say that Goods will be subsidiary to Information, not the reverse as at present. Thus intelligent machines will have a prominence we have not given them earlier. And the inexorable general purpose life force will notch human beings forward to be even more general purpose intelligent Machines than are the artificial intelligent machines which we create. This has been a main reason for my use of the Guidance Machine metaphor throughout this presentation. We humans must accommodate a relationship with a Guidance Machine in the future in which we figuratively carry the Guidance Machine in us in active state at all times. We will, of course, not actually have the Machine present in our general purpose being. We will, however, actually have to have the Machine present in our powers to relate to its literal counterpart when necessary and with effect.

When you look upon our society as if our society were the Guidance

Machine you find some faults in our society as well as in our Guidance materials. First, our schools, colleges, and universities for the most part have themselves become "factories." They therefore school rather than educate. They largely cater to what Botkin, Elmandjra, and Malitza (1979) designate as maintenance learning, not to the innovative learning which those authors recommend as the bridge of the human gap now existing in the world problematic.

Maintenance learning is largely at the (1,1) coordinate of my Guidance Machine developmental space in Figure 4. Innovative learning is largely at the (4,4) coordinate of that space. In my rhetoric, getting from coordinate (1,1) to coordinate (4,4) requires adoption of operations with facts/data, the freeing from other's forms of those operations, and the assumption of personal discipline in which the expectation for incisive explicitness is acknowledged in the operation of the internalized Machine under personal operation. Botkin, Elmandjra, and Malitza prescribe the needed conditions more simply as merely anticipation and participation. I consider our prescribed conditions to be similar but feel that my prescriptions are a little more explicit about what anticipation skills are and about what the participation state has to consist of.

Second, when we look beyond our schools, colleges, and universities into our work societies, the situations in our society for innovative living improves relatively little. For instance, in *Theory Z* we find Ouchi (1981) arguing that American business can meet the Japanese challenge organizationally by reinstating three simple but hard to get conditions into work organizations: (1) trust; (2) subtlety and (3) intimacy. This recommendation is followed by searching analyses which substantiate the contrast I have reproduced as Exhibit 2.

According to Ouchi, we have specialized ourselves at work in the United States to such an extent that upper level employees have become almost nomadic because of societal pressure to remain with their occupation regardless of their employer. And the economics in the States have now reached a point where this condition is being pressed upon lower level employees who would prefer to stay with their employer but cannot find hospitable circumstances for doing so. No, these are not times when our society is finishing the maturation of our citizens along my defined Guidance developmental scale. To the contrary. These are times when, more than ever before, more and more people must reach the higher level of my Guidance developmental scale for mere economic survival, to say nothing of their sanity and joy in life.

So what if we look to a third arena in which our society might be accomplishing what is needed when education and business are not doing so. Are our citizens perhaps finding maturation in their recreation? Not in large number in my judgment. I see around me increased alcohol abuse, increased

drug use, spectator sports, resistance to retirement from work rising, divorce, high suicide rates, and I keep seeing majorities of persons in our society who are other-directed, immature, and unknowing of themselves. These are certainly not the models and mentors for the needed higher forms of consciousness in those studying in our present schools, colleges, and universities.

Exhibit 2

Contrast in Japanese and American Models of Organizations (after Ouchi, 1981, p. 58)

Japanese Organizations

Lifetime employment
Slow Evaluation and Promotion
Non-specialized career paths
Implicit control mechanisms
Collective decision making
Collective responsibility
Wholistic concern

vs American Organizations

Short-term employment
Rapid Evaluation and promotion
Specialized career paths
Explicit control mechanisms
Individual decision making
Individual responsibility
Segmented concern

In summary then, our *Summary* society is presently stuck at coordinates (1,1) or (2,2) in my specified Guidance Machine development. Furthermore, there is practically nothing in our present Guidance materials and program-mings which moves citizens to the (3,3) and (4,4) coordinates of my Guidance Machine development. Additionally, present professionals in Guidance look upon what we are doing in ever more exquisite detail without due regard for the philosophic, scientific, social, and technological conditions under which we can more powerfully facilitate living today and proactively anticipate tomorrow. Finally, Guidance professionals ignore people who are tomorrow's people in today's clothing. Those persons are the conspirations (they breathe together) who are identified in Marilyn Ferguson's *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (1980). They bear daily witness to living in appreciation of social and personal transformation which will be tomorrow's necessary life.

I became Professor of Career Education and Director, National Institute for the Advancement of Career Education at the University of Southern California effective 1 January 1981. In twelve short months of service, I have come to know things as I have just summarized them. I have, therefore, bet my career and my Institute on the alleviation of those conditions. You will find my intentions and so-far-identified mind-resources sketched in Exhibit 3. (handout)

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Towards a Model of Career Adaptation: A review of the literature on adult development and its implications for career adaptation

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This report presents a review and assessment of the literature in the area of adult development and discusses its implications for programs designed to address career adaptation of working adults.

Most development theories have their origin in the work done on children and adolescents. The models typically adopted have been based upon a biological view of development. Thus development is seen as progressive from birth to maturity (at the end of adolescence) with adulthood depicted as a period of stability or maintenance and decline. The typical career path of the individual is seen, then, as one of vocational choice at the end of adolescence, at which time the individual enters the labour market either immediately or after some preparation. He then rises in position and responsibility until he achieves his level of peak performance at which time his growth levels off until retirement.

Career paths of individuals, however, are much more varied than this. Rather than being linear and cumulative, they are, in fact, multidirectional and discontinuous.

Adaptation is generally described as a process by which an individual changes in order to achieve an improved relationship with his environment, which itself might be in continuous change. For the purpose of this paper, therefore, career adaptation is defined as a process by which an individual changes to achieve a better relationship with his work environment; which itself might be in continuous change. In this paper the individual, the environment and the adaptation process are examined and the contributions of each to career path variance is discussed.

This report approaches this subject in the following sequence:

- Section 1. Individual Considerations
- Section 2. Environmental Considerations

Section 3. Relationship and Process

Section 4. Summary

Section 5. Conclusions

1. Individual Considerations

The number of factors which are considered as influential to occupational choice and career development are considerable (Card, 1978). This multiplication of variables is further complicated by the recent recognition of the period of adulthood as one of continued growth and development.

Individuals show a great deal of heterogeneity, or interindividual variability, in life span development, and this increases with age, particularly in adulthood and aging.

The recognition of this continuing capacity for change and interindividual variability can be seen in the recent studies on cognition. Three dimensions of cognitive development can be identified in the literature: a) a quantitative dimension; b) a qualitative dimension; and c) a style dimension.

1.1 Quantitative dimension

The quantitative dimension of cognitive development may be defined as the individual's capacity to learn.

This capacity, as indexed by traditional psychometric tests, shows an increase until early adolescence at which time it begins to level off and remains constant over the adult period.

Intelligence, however, is not considered a unitary construct. Rather it is composed of a number of abilities which show differentiation into complex systems in late childhood and early adolescence. Also different abilities show different developmental functions over the life span. For example, verbal and non-verbal abilities show different life course developments with verbal abilities exhibiting greater and earlier developmental continuity and being maintained longer during adulthood and old age than do non-verbal abilities (Bayley, 1970 and Botwinick, 1977). Cattell and Horn (1978) explain continued growth of intelligence in adulthood through a dual component model. According to their theory, intelligence has two basic components, a fluid component based upon inherited potential and a crystallized component which, although utilizing the biological base, reflects the individual's unique cultural, educational and environmental experiences. It is argued that the fluid component follows the usual pattern of biological growth and decline. The crystallized component, however, could continue to show increments for many years until the biological base is too severely undermined to support further growth. It has been suggest-

ed that traditional psychometric tests have been constructed with a focus on the young and that salient dimensions of adult life (eg. wisdom, experience) have been neglected (Clayton and Birren, 1980).

This continuing growth of intelligence can have significant impact on the measurement of abilities in adulthood. It has been suggested that performance measurements of adults can be improved by the use of alternate measures which do not rely so heavily on response time (Birren, 1970) or on meaningless content (Labouvie-Vief, 1980).

1.2 Qualitative dimension

As well as the changing quantitative nature of intelligence across the life span, there is a changing qualitative dimension which reflects the structural changes of the mind in processing information. Piaget (1970) who has been the leader in this area of cognition has described four levels of cognitive development, each qualitatively different and following in invariant sequence from sensorimotor (0-2 years) to preoperational (2-7 years) to concrete operations (7-11 years) to formal operations (11-17 years). Piaget considers that this last stage is the final stage in development. More recent studies on adult development, however, perceive continuing qualitative changes in adulthood (Perry, 1968; Kholberg, 1976; Bégin, 1979). It has been suggested that "dialectics" distinguishes the adult period (Riegel, 1973). This involves a series of integrations of logical structures (thesis) with social contexts (antithesis) leading to new syntheses (Labouvie-Vief, 1980). This process is considered simultaneously repetitive and progressive.

1.3 Style dimension

Besides the development changes in quantitative and qualitative measures of cognition which represent similarities among individuals, there are still consistent and distinctive dissimilarities in the way individuals think and in the manner in which they perform any given task. These differences or dispositions are called cognitive styles and are considered "expressions of broader dimensions of functioning that extend into the personality domain" (Witkin, 1973, p. 25).

Cognitive style refers to the "how" rather than the "what" of intellectual phenomena. In other words, it is the manner by which individuals actualize their abilities:

Ability dimensions essentially refer to the content of cognition or the question of "what" — what kind of information is being processed by what operation in what form? [sic] Cognitive styles, in contrast, bear on the question of "how" — on the manner in which

the behaviour occurs. The concept of ability implies the measurement of capacities in terms of maximal performance, with the emphasis upon level of accomplishment; the concept of style implies the measurement of characteristic modes of operation in terms of typical performance, with the emphasis upon process. (Messick, 1976, pp. 7-8)

Thomas and Chess (1980) hypothesize that these different styles have a biological base for diversity which "could have evolutionary adaptive significance." (1980, p. 78)

1.4 Summary of the Inter-relationships

All three dimensions interact to produce increasing multidimensionality and interindividual variability across the life span. As well, changes in cognitive functioning have an important impact on the many dimensions that make up personality. For example, Messick feels that cognitive styles are "intimately interwoven with affective, temperamental and motivational structures as part of the total personality; they provide one aspect of the matrix, as it were, that determines the nature or form of adaptive traits, defense mechanisms and pathological symptoms." (Messick, 1976, pp. 6-7)

Personality development in adulthood has been documented (eg. Vaillant, 1977; Levinson et al, 1978; Gould, 1972; Neugarten, 1977) as showing that change is not just a result of external causes or quantitative changes but that there is a continuing potential for qualitative changes in adulthood as well as greater interindividual variability (style).

Vaillant, however, states that "there is no evidence that endogenous changes play a greater role than culture or human relationships in determining adult development. The more sustained social and historical events impinge on the life of an individual, the more complex and less predictable that individual's development becomes." (1980, p. 358)

2. Environmental Considerations

The second element, then, that must be considered is the individual's environment. "Just as cohorts of individuals become progressively more differentiated across its life span, the life course represents an increasingly more complex maze of age-linked alternatives." (Atchley, 1980) In other words, alternatives become more complex for each individual as norms are redefined by increased contact with the different social groups that make up the external environment.

2.1 Roles and Careers

Role is the term applied to various positions open to individuals by society.

A person's role in a social system evolves over time. The term "career", then, refers to the relatively patterned sequence of role changes (Levinson, 1980).

FIGURE 1: CAREER CONTOUR FOR A PROFESSIONAL PERSON

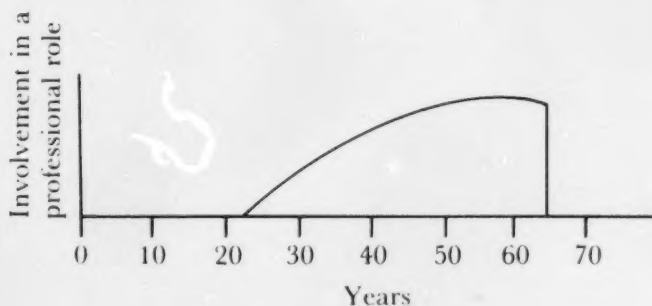
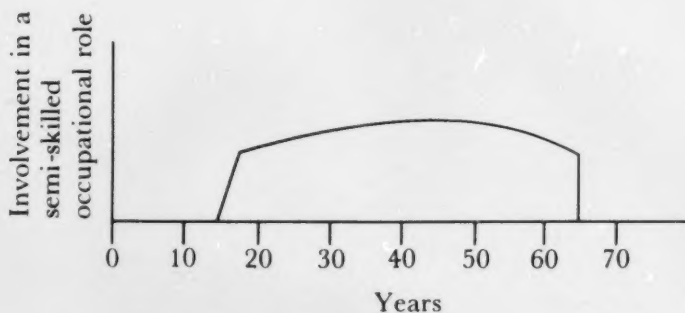


FIGURE 2: CAREER CONTOUR FOR A BLUE-COLLAR WORKER



Source: N.J. Smelser. Issues in the study of work and love in adulthood. In N.J. Smelser and E. Erikson (eds), *Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.

2.2 Career Contours

A career contour may be defined as the pattern of the career over the life

span. Smelser (1980) describes "ideal career contours" for a number of roles. The ideal reflects the expectations (norms) of the larger social group. For example, in a professional role in contemporary North American society (eg. a medical doctor, an engineer, an academic) there is a prolonged period of training, after which the person is certified and assumes the career role. According to general expectations, a person's involvement in the role is expected to grow steadily throughout the adult years, level off in the late fifties or early sixties, perhaps decline a bit, by the same measures, in the years remaining and then cease abruptly upon retirement. This pattern is graphically depicted in Figure 1.

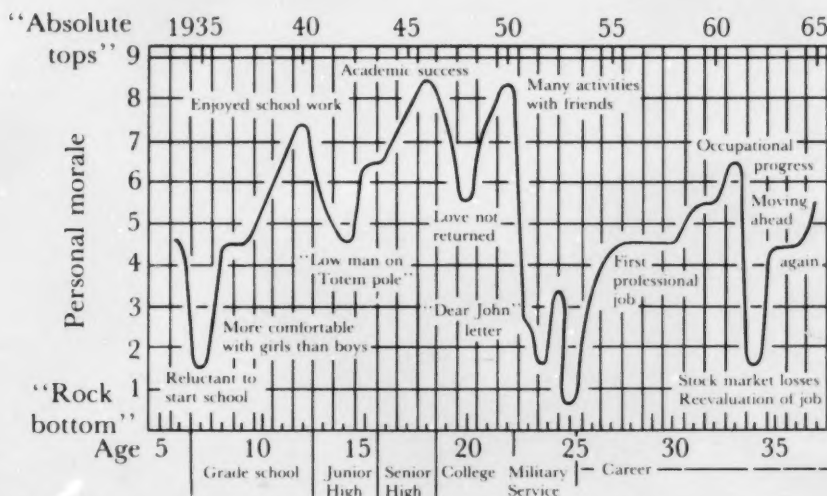
A different contour (Figure 2) is depicted for semi-skilled blue-collar workers with the assumption of role responsibility occurring earlier than for the professional, peaking in terms of responsibility and rewards earlier, having a longer period of levelling off but having an equally abrupt transition with retirement.

It is posited that ideal role expectations and career contours can be described for different roles all of which constitute a series of programs and agendas for a person's life course.

There is naturally, individual variation from the ideal role type. In making this point, Smelser suggests a number of factors which can affect the contour under study. Contours can vary:

- a. historically and cross-culturally as values, norms and social structures vary;
- b. according to the degree to which the events and transitions which give them shape are inevitable. For example, marriage is not an inevitable event. As well, sex and social class or social group can influence both the opportunities available and the degree of likelihood of an event;
- c. according to the degree to which events and sequences are reversible or revocable. For example, taking a job can be revoked by quitting or being discharged;
- d. according to the definitiveness with which sequences and events are scheduled (eg. the right to vote);
- e. to the degree that they are socially defined as salient to the individual (eg. work in labour market as opposed to home);
- f. according to the degree that they are publicly noticed by ritual (eg. graduation) or permitted to pass without acknowledgement;
- g. according to the ways in which they are interrupted by unanticipated events such as premature death, debilitating illness, unemployment, etc.;
- h. according to their interrelationship with other contours. For example, long professional training delays a person's entry into the labour force

FIGURE 3: HIGH-LOW CHART FOR MALE PROFESSIONAL,
AGE 37



Source: N. Clausen. The life course of individuals. In M.U. Riley et al (eds), *Aging and Society*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972.

- often beyond traditionally expected marrying age and child bearing years, whereas persons in the working class enter the labour force, leave home, and become parents within a few years; and
- i. according to the degree to which they are accepted or regarded as legitimate by different groups in the population. As was pointed out, norms are redefined by a number of social groups, most important of which seems to be "primary groups" and in particular significant others in our lives.

(Figure 3 graphically describes the career path variance of a male professional).

These, Smelser indicates, "are the major lines of variability of the different life contours that constitute the constraining sociocultural agendas for a person's journey through the life course. Taken together they spell out the relative degree of freedom or choice that is left to the individual." (p. 12)

2.3 Personal Career

The "personal career" may be thought of as the individual ways in which a "career" evolves. It takes into consideration the capacity of the individual for change over the life span and the unique patterning of choices within a given environment. "The personal career always unfolds in relation to its environmental agendas but not solely according to its dictates". (Smelser, 1980, p. 12)

Baltes (1980) sums up the influences, both biological and environmental, of development across the life span as follows:

1. *Normative age-grade influences*

These are biological and environmental determinants that have (in terms of onset and duration) a fairly strong relationship with chronological age (eg. biological maturation, age-graded sociological events).

2. *Normative history-graded influences*

These are biological and environmental determinants associated with historical time and historical content related to cohorts. They are normative if related to most members of a given cohort (generation) in similar ways, although the events may differ for different age-cohorts living at the same time (eg. economic depression, wars, epidemics).

3. *Non-normative life events*

These refer to biological and environmental determinants that do not occur in any normative age-graded or history-graded manner for most individuals (eg. death of significant others, medical traumata).

Development is a result of all three determinants. Baltes, however, hypothesizes that normative age-graded influences are stronger in childhood while normative historical events would seem to peak in influence in adolescence. Non-normative events increase in importance over the life span (ie. adulthood). (See Figure 4)

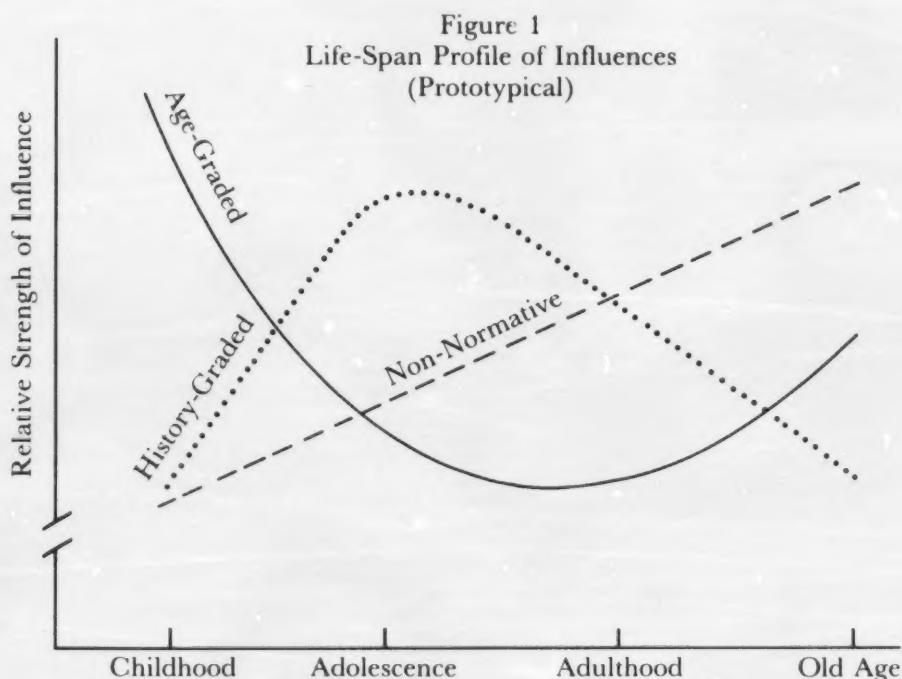
3. Relationship and Process

3.1 Adaptation and Adjustment

"When I say 'adaptation' the sociologist (those who view mankind as more affected by what occurs outside than what occurs inside) hears conformity and adjustment." (Vaillant, 1977)

Adjustment and adaptation are, however, different in Vaillant's view. Adjustment may be viewed as the relationship the individual develops with society; it may be good, bad or indifferent. Adaptation on the other hand refers to the precarious balance between the relationship with one's self and the relationship with the world. Adaptation may include adjustment,

FIGURE 4: LIFE-SPAN PROFILE OF INFLUENCES
(PROTOTYPICAL)



Source: P.B. Baltes, H.W. Reese and L.P. Lipsitt. Life-span developmental psychology. *Annual Review Psychological*, 1980, 31, 65-110.

but adjustment does not include adaptation. (Vaillant, 1977)

Giele (1980) equates adjustment to work as "satisfaction" while happiness may be more indicative of adaptation. In reviewing the results of the Quality of Life study by Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, she reports that for the college-educated, happiness increased with age as did overall life satisfaction while for the most poorly educated, happiness declined with age while life satisfaction increased. Life satisfaction for the lower socio-economic groups was very much tied to concrete, materialistic objects. She interprets these findings as the accommodation or habituation of these people to their actual circumstances. "Their hopes might still be unfulfilled and, not having the personal resources and material circumstances to realize them, they might be less successful in achieving that symbolic

integration of self-in-the-world that the more educated and "happy" person could attain." (p. 163)

Whatever the validity of her opinion, it is clear that she is arguing that there are *changes* in levels of both satisfaction and happiness.

3.2 Development

That development is an on-going process is expressed by Jordan thus: "to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to create oneself endlessly" (1976, p. 7). Whether development in adulthood is a stage-wise progression towards greater maturity is a debated issue in the literature. However, there seems consensus that qualitative changes do occur.

Levinson (1977) views the self or ego as multidimensional. It follows, therefore, that transitions are the necessary changes from within that allow for the expression of different egoist needs. Lipman-Blumen and Leavitt (1977) in recognizing the changing needs of self-expression suggest that the concept of "mini-careers" be developed in order to allow for the changing nature of "self". At present they consider that the stereotyping of society with respect to roles makes expression of other "self" dimensions difficult, particularly when expression runs counter to strongly held beliefs. This can result in crisis when the individual's changing self-concept is in conflict with long-held expectations of society.

3.3. Socialization

"Whereas development represents an unfolding from within, socialization reflects a molding from without." (Levinson, 1980, p. 270)

This statement expresses the importance of society in determining the individual's adaptation to his/her environment. Through socialization, the individual "learns to perform the roles and behaviours he expects of himself and others expect of him." (Albrecht and Gift, 1975)

In summary, the role models available to us have been greatly expanded by the explosion of mass communication. (Toffler, 1980) The literature, however, points to the importance of significant others in determining what roles we will play and how we will fulfill them. Clausen (1972) points to the need of "work role models" in lower socio-economic groups where often the motivation to work is lacking. Other studies (eg. Card, 1978; Siegfried, 1981; Weishaar et al, 1981 and Salomone, 1981) have pointed to the influences of primary socialization or family members in influencing the career choices of individuals. Career commitment, too, seems dependent upon subsequent identification with models as evidenced by Levinson's discussion of the importance of "mentors".

3.4 Anticipatory Socialization

"Adults carry around in their heads whether or not they can easily verbalize it, a set of anticipations of the normal, expectable life cycle." (Neugarten, 1976, p. 39)

In relatively stable and unchanging societies, anticipation of future ways was not difficult. However, in individualized societies, with rapid communications, individuals often prepare themselves to perform in one world only to find within a short term that the role expectations have changed. "When the role expectations of anticipated transitions are not clear, or unanticipated change occurs (whether positive or negative) the individual finds himself uncertain of the rules of behaviours, situational goals and expectations. These conditions frequently produce poor performance and psychological stress (Albrecht and Gift, 1975), in short, periods of crisis.

Neugarten refers to the occurrence of crisis as the on-time/off-time of anticipated social events. Support groups such as peers and others play an important role in reducing potential stress and self doubt in these contexts. (Atchley and Gift, 1975)

3.5 Dialectics

Rather than being seen as strictly an unfolding from within or a molding from without, the relationship between man and society is considered by many to be dialectical or "dialogical" (Riegel, 1977). That is, development proceeds as a result of a synthesis of individual and environmental differences.

Piaget's model of cognitive development is considered dialectical in that the structures evolve through a process of assimilation (individual interpretation), and accommodation (environmental pressure) (Elkind, 1967). The stage following formal operations is thought to be dialectic itself, a synthesis of structure with social or affective content (Labouvie-Vief, 1980).

Erikson's model of psychosocial development is also indicative of the dialectical approach (Fiske, 1980). Here, "tasks" are identified which are coincidental with the biological and social/historical cycles of man. The tasks then become the synthesis between the individual and his society. Vaillant (1980) explored the validity of Erikson's stages with some modification. He added a career consolidation stage to follow the task of intimacy.

In his study of men he found support for the sequencing of the tasks. For example, individuals who had not been able to "leave the nest" were unable to establish long-term emotional relationships or job commitments. Also career consolidation related strongly to the establishment of a close relationship with another person. Vaillant suggests that the individual

struggles between autonomy (identity formation) and interdependence (identity consolidation) in an increasing complexity of tasks but that the sequential nature of the "tasks" as well as the content and context of the tasks can vary for different groups. A recent study by Gilligan (1977) on Kohlberg's stages of moral development suggests a different task sequence for women. As well, Fiske (1980) in a study of middle and lower economic groups suggests that individuals show more back and forth movement between tasks in response to internal and external changes.

Identity formation, believed to be the task of adolescence, requires the individual to form a unified image of himself. Marcia (1966) operationalized the task of discovering one's identity with the terms crisis and commitment. Commitment reflected a unified identity or self image while crisis reflected a period of transition or identity formation. Four positions (achievement, foreclosure, moratorium, diffusion) were identified towards occupation, political and personal ideology. Individuals who had gone through a crisis and showed commitment were considered *identity achievers* while those who showed commitment but no crisis were considered *identity foreclosure*. *Identity moratoriums* were individuals who were in a period of transition but had not made outside commitments while *identity diffuse* showed neither concern nor commitment. Like Vaillant, Fiske believes that adults go through many periods of identity formations with subsequent consolidations.

4. Summary

4.1 Development

- a. The literature on adult development questions previously held views about the nature of change over the adult period. As well, models of human development which stress a unidirectional and cumulative approach to the life course are being challenged by multilinear and discontinuous models.
- b. As a result of the seemingly unpredictable nature of development, or at least as a result of the inappropriateness of present models to explain human development, a great interest has emerged about the dialectical approach. Broadly defined, the dialectical approach involves the relationship between the individual and his environment.
- c. Models of development, such as those of Piaget and Erikson which are "dialectical" in nature, may be helpful in uncovering the adaptive mechanisms or laws of development, as well as the basic elements or traits necessary for growth.

4.2 Vocation

- a. Vocation is defined as the "calling that one follows" (Oxford Dictionary). This definition is consistent with Super's theory of vocational choice as an implementation of one's self concept. It is posited that the greater the correspondence between self and occupation, the greater is the satisfaction with and potential for future adjustment to one's chosen field.
- b. The literature has indicated that self image becomes increasingly differentiated over time. As well, positions in society today are more differentiated. One would assume this would indicate a greater potential for "self" expression, but rather, it appears to have created greater disparity. Individuals have become overspecialized (perhaps to meet environmental demands) and as a result one to one correspondence of attributes is not possible (Toffler, 1980).
- c. Self concept transforms over adulthood suggesting that a number of choices are available instead of one.

4.3 Commitment

- a. Fiske (1980) suggests that commitment also shows diversification. She insists that stage models of development now in use reflect the life situation of the elite, and do not adequately express changes typical of the majority of society. The ability to invest one's "self" in a calling or vocation comes from both a "self" awareness and from the "opportunities" for expression. These may or may not be accessible to all levels of society or to all groups. She identifies four different types of commitments which show change in hierarchy with changing internal and external conditions. She labels these commitments interpersonal, altruistic, competence mastering and self-protectiveness, and can occur in any or all arenas of one's life.
- b. The literature suggests if meaning is the essence of commitment there is an indication of different levels of commitment ranging from materialistic to symbolic. Giele (1980) suggests that education can lead not only to greater complexity and self awareness but also to opportunities for expression. The less educated may have to settle for more materialistic meanings which could, in the long term, be non-adaptive. Leonard Pearlin (1980) in a study of working-class adults, found that ability to cope with change depends upon the abstract meaning that one could apply to the event.
- c. Fiske points out that one's first commitment is to self discovery and that the rest will follow. She suggests, however, that it is necessary to allow for "moratoria" in order for individuals to find new meanings in their

lives, and in themselves. Erikson's model of psychosocial development according to Vaillant consists of periods of structure change (eg. working on identity) followed by periods of structure maintenance (eg. reinforcing commitments in the world). Perhaps, then, caring becomes the chief task of adulthood — caring for oneself and for others.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, there are four concepts which show potential in understanding and assisting individuals in career adaptation.

5.1 Commitment (ie. meaning)

Fiske's conception of commitment as "realistic priorities and decisions that pattern the individual's behaviours . . ." (p. 244) show possibilities for understanding the choices, occupational and non-occupational, that individuals make.

Commitments are not made once and for all but can and do change in response to internal and external events. For example, in times of economic depression, self preservation may become a high priority commitment (eg. during the depression, job change was not as prevalent among the young as it has been in periods of economic harvest) (Schrack, 1972). It also would seem that an ability to reorder commitments would be highly adaptive.

5.2 Domains of Expression

The labour market is only one domain of expression of one's commitments. Other domains which may be of equal importance or more salient to the individual are family, hobbies, groups, etc.

The domains of expression available to an individual may be an important determinant of the degree of adjustment and adaptation. As well, saliency of domains may be an important determinant of satisfaction and happiness. For example, if mastery is an important commitment and the labour market is an important domain, opportunities to develop and demonstrate one's skills will determine adaptation. If opportunities are lacking, a reordering of commitments or domains may be necessary to future satisfaction and happiness.

5.3 Levels of Meaning/Awareness

Satisfaction may be a measure of one's accommodation or adjustment to reality while adaptation or happiness may be more indicative of a truer investment of one's self as it relates to level of meaning or the level of self awareness. That is, a higher level of awareness may extract truer meaning and truer commitments.

Some individuals seem to be afraid of self awareness and avoid it by developing life styles which prevent solitudes and self discovery through distraction and sensory bombardment (Fiske, 1980).

5.4 Self Discovery

Erikson (1968) spoke of youth as awakening fidelity and the task of youth as identity formation. Commitment to self discovery and creativity is the first of all commitments. Self creation is an ongoing process.

Individuals, however, need moratoria to recover from trauma and they need patience and faith in their inner powers of recovery (Fiske, 1980). If "human solidarity is necessary for the unfolding of the self" (Fromm, 1966), then the strength and courage for self discovery must come from a caring society.

Caring endows the intimate dialogue with truth. The truth in our close relationships is a source of strength which can enable those of us in middle and later life not only to nurture and treasure autonomy in ourselves and our children, but by our words and actions to contribute to the dialogue between the private and public spheres of our ever more complicated worlds. Only by our individual contribution toward a synthesis of public and private values and behaviours can we endow our young with the courage not to retreat when they become old. And only if we — and they — do not retreat will the generations that come after us be able to mold themselves instead of becoming puppets . . .

(Fiske, 1980, p. 261)

The futurists among us (eg. Toffle., 1980, Ferguson, 1980) who recognize the benefits to adaptation of increasing one's self awareness and at the same time the need for opportunities of expression are predicting a coming change in society and perhaps a new expression of "vocation". For example, Giele (1980) points to concerns of economists, historians and sociologists of time allocations among various spheres of human activity. Their suggestions for policy, she indicates, all point in the same direction — greater opportunity for overlap, interchange, linkages, flexibility, and alliances between the worlds of family and work. "Flexible hours, maternity leaves, child-care centres, social security for homeworkers — all are signs of the effort to rejoin the instrumental and expressive components of life." (p. 169)

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The Identification of The Importance of Work

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I Introduction

The role of work in people's lives is a fascinating subject for most of us, perhaps because it is such an integral part of our own lives, especially if we are involved in the area of career counselling or vocational development. It is this interest which prompted the initiation of the International Work Importance Study, a research project whose objective is to identify what work means in the lives of people who live in industrialized countries.

It is our intention today, as members of this study team, to bring you up to date on both the international work and the work of the Canadian team. This team is composed of experts from federal and provincial governments and from universities, colleges and counselling groups from across the country. The first part of the presentation is a very concrete progress report. It will ignore the question of why we are involved in the study and why we consider the work to be heuristically important. In the second part of the presentation, Dr. Bujold will examine the conceptual problem of the interaction between personal development and vocational development. This interplay will be examined by others here in the next three days but from a different perspective. What we are particularly interested in is the saliency of the work role itself. It is an area which impinges very directly on the work of counsellors in our CECs as well as in other organizations which provide career guidance.

Let me begin by giving you a brief history and description of the project. In July, 1978, a group of psychologists meeting at the International Congress of Applied Psychology in Munich began to question the various aspects of work values and the salience of work. At that time, a tentative plan was conceived to develop instruments which would not only measure these constructs but also measure them in such a way that instruments which were appropriate would also be valid and reliable instruments for cross-cultural comparisons. The original idea was to compare the industrialized European and North American countries. Since that time, the membership in the study has

fluctuated between 9 and 15 countries depending on what economic winds are blowing in a particular country and what kinds of funding is available for this work. At present, the active members in the study are: Australia, Canada, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Yugoslavia and the United States. Great Britain is expected to rejoin once funding is received. In addition, countries such as Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Zimbabwe are following the study closely and using the instruments on a very limited basis. These countries cover the whole range of what is usually considered as western economies.

An important part of any study is to operationally define the terms being used, and this is even more important when people seem to use the same terms in very different ways. Therefore, we have conceptualized the term "work salience" as the rewards sought from work. It refers to the desire for a particular kind of satisfaction in work. The relative importance attached to work as opposed to various other activities which an individual may engage in has been termed "work salience" in recent research (e.g. Super, 1978). It is taken to include many precisely defined phenomena previously considered under such headings as job involvement, career commitment, central life interests, and, in some senses, alienation from work. The underlying assumption to this definition is that individuals vary in the importance they attach to job and career and that this variation may be a significant factor in career decisions and vocational behaviours. Career salience, therefore, is viewed as the degree to which work and career are a central part of the self-concept. High career salient persons would be expected to place greater importance on work and would be more highly motivated to fulfill themselves in an occupation as opposed to some other life role such as family or community (Thomas and Bruning, 1981). Most of the research in this area evolves from earlier work of people like Super, Crites and Tiedeman and, in fact, our project is chaired by Dr. Super who continues to explore the whole concept of career saliency in the 1980s.

II Instruments Being Used in the Study

We are working on the development of 2 primary instruments for the study.

The first is the Values Inventory which is a measure of the importance of specific values. The second is the Salience Inventory and it attempts to measure the importance of specific roles.

III The Values Inventory

The first identification of values to be examined in this study was based on the national literature review which was completed by each participating country. This was very much an "a priori" type of research and resulted in a list which overlapped greatly from one country to another. There were a few values which did appear to be unique. For example, Canada proposed cultural identity as being of importance and Australia suggested physical activity. After much discussion, 23 values were identified to be used in the first stage of the study. Of these, two were optional. These values are listed on Table One. As you can see, this is a fairly complete list and one that we expected would be reduced when a factor analysis was run on the results.

Table One

Values used in the WIS Field Trial, 1981

Ability Utilization	Intellectual Stimulation
Achievement	Life Style
Advancement	Participation in Organizational Decision Making
Aesthetics	Prestige
Altruism	Responsibility
Associates and Social Interaction	Risk-taking and Safety
Authority	Spiritual
Autonomy	Supervisory Relations
Creativity	Variety
Economic Rewards	Cultural Identity (Optional)
Economic Security	Physical Activity (Optional)
Environment	

At the same time, the national teams co-operated in the development of 10 items for each value: one-half of these were general and one-half were work-specific i.e. contained a reference to one's job or work. There was a total of 230 items. However, Canada did not use physical activity so we had 220 items. During the spring of this year, we field-tested this instrument using what might be called a sample of convenience. We were very fortunate in

that our sample is a close approximation of the whole population of working age Canadians. We had approximately 2,700 people who completed either the general items form of the work-specific form and we had a further 700 subjects who completed both forms. The English subjects ranged in age from early teens to early 60s: about one-half were between 16 and 24, the group which forms the bulk of the clientele in CECs. About one-half were full-time students in high school or post-secondary institutions and most of the other subjects were full-time workers. The francophones, on the other hand were almost all high school students from New Brunswick. We were able to test people in both rural and urban areas in most provinces. Because of the co-operation of members of the team, we were also able to look at three distinct groups in our analysis: the first is a cross-section of the province of Manitoba which includes both students and workers from a wide variety of occupations; the second is a comparison of French and English-speaking secondary school students for the province of New Brunswick; and the third group consists of the employees of a large national company which provided employees from the managerial, professional, clerical and skilled labour groups.

Currently, we are in the process of preparing the results of this work for publication and would be happy to share it with those who are interested. Very briefly, we found that economic security and ability utilization are the values which are given the highest importance by all groups, both students and workers. It is interesting to realize that economic security did not include items about being rich but rather living comfortably and that ability utilization was not career advancement but rather simply doing a good job. The values which are loaded with questions that deal with looking after oneself and being treated fairly by others also received high ratings. At the lowest end of the rankings of importance were the values which focus on taking risk, being in charge and maintaining cultural identity. Some of the other values which in the past were rated as being important, such as creativity and intellectual stimulation, are now rated as being only of moderate importance. Obviously, the importance of different values can change quite drastically with the economic climate.

The analysis of the data, including factor analysis, was done by Dr. George Fitzsimmons and Donald Macnab of the University of Alberta. They have described the characteristics of the scale and identified the best items as well as the best factors to retain. For those of you who are particularly interested in this work, I can provide you with a copy of the report that was prepared. I do not have time to go into the details but a series of factor analysis were completed on both the French and the English forms. We were then able to prepare two recommendations on alternative designs of the values inventory for presentation to the international meeting. The first we called

the "Research WIS" and it consisted of the five items in each group of 10 which correlated most highly with the total for the 10 items in the subtest. Using the paired comparison method, only one item from each pair of the general and work-specific forms was included. It was then decided to retain all items which were common in French and English and all items which had a factor loading greater than .4. This decision resulted in a final instrument with 95 items in the pool. These 95 items were subsequently factor analyzed using the results of the English forms and of the French forms using a principal components factor with varimax rotation. The results ranged from a 13 factor solution to a 7 factor solution. In the light of the criteria we were using, including that of having logical consistency, the 12 factor solution yielded the most meaningful clustering of items. By cleaning up the factors even more, the net product from this exercise was a total of 57 items and 10 factors. We presented these two options to our international colleagues.

At that time, the other teams had also done the same or comparable research which allowed for comparison of results and conclusions. As was hoped, there was a great deal of similarity in the factors which remained for further research. The teams then adopted a final list of values and it forms the basis for the next step in this research project. The values which we will be using in the future are given in Table Two.

Table Two

Values to be Included in the Values Inventory for 1982

Ability Utilization	Personal Development
Achievement	Physical Activity
Advancement	Prestige
Aesthetics	Risk
Altruism	Social Interaction
Authority	Social Relations
Autonomy	Variety
Creativity	Working Conditions
Economics	Cultural Identity (Optional)
Life Style	Physical Prowess (Optional)

Fourteen of the original values remain the same, with the exception that

Risk-taking and Safety now becomes Risk. Six values were eliminated: Associates and Social Interaction, Intellectual Stimulation, Participation in Organizational Decision Making, Responsibility, and Supervisory Relations. Three others were modified: Economic Rewards and Economic Security combined to form the new value called Economics and Environment was changed so that it was job-focused and called Working Conditions. The concept of socializing was divided into two values with the item for them being drawn from across a number of the values which had been eliminated. The first was called Social Interaction which is the more superficial type of interface and the second was Social Relations which includes the notion of emotional support. In addition, a factor which emerged in most countries was something we chose to call Personal Development: it has to do with the notion of self-actualization. Finally, Physical Activity became a mandatory part of the scale, and a second type of physical factor was added as an option which was called Prowess. This latter will not be used in Canada so we have 19 factors on our values inventory. Dr. Bujold and I are in the final process of preparing comparable English and French versions of the instruments.

At the same time as the values were decided upon, the items which were strongest across countries were adopted as a mandatory part of the inventory. In addition, each country will select its own best two items not already chosen internationally. Subjects will be asked to rate each item using a 4 point scale of importance. This is different from the 5 point Likert scale of agree-disagree used in the field trial. Table Three gives samples of the items to be used in the values inventory. As was done in the field trial, the items are of two types: either general in direction or work-specific.

Table Three

Samples of Items from the Values Inventory

It is now or will be important for me to . . .

(General)	Value
Use all my skills and knowledge	Ability Utilization
Help people with problems	Altruism
Be with friends	Social Interaction
(Work-specific)	
Be able to get promotions	Achievement
Be the one who manages things at work	Authority
Be physically active in my work	Physical Activity

IV The Salience Inventory

The first part of the research is an attempt to identify what values that Canadians hold. The second task is a separate question which deals with the importance of various life roles. To examine this area, we are developing another inventory called the Salience Inventory. As part of this, we have defined five major roles or areas of activities:

Studying:	Taking courses, going to school (day or night), classes, lectures or laboratory work; preparing for class, studying in a library or at home, includes independent studying done formally or informally.
Working:	For pay or for profit, on a job, or for yourself.
Community Service: (Volunteer)	Activities with community organizations such as recreation groups, Scouts, Red Cross, social service agencies, neighbourhood associations, political parties, and trade unions.
Homemaking:	Taking care of your room, apartment, or house; fixing or cleaning up after meals, shopping, cleaning, caring for dependents e.g. children, parents.
Leisure:	Taking part in sports, watching television, pursuing hobbies, going to movies, the theatre or concerts, reading, relaxing, being with family and friends.

The model that we are using is that proposed by Dr. Super in a number of his recent publications (Super, 1981, Super and Knasel, 1980) (Figure 1). This is a structural, not a dynamic, model of the development of the motivation to work or not to work. Very briefly, commitment is the attitudinal or the affective aspect of importance. It is the emotional attachment to a role, to one's work or to one's other roles and to the things that one is expected to do and expects there. Participation is defined by the behaviour of taking part in a particular role or by the amount of time given to a role. Knowledge is the cognitive component. Not one of these aspects automatically assumes the existence of either the other two for any particular individual. These three also combine into other concepts. For example, commitment and participation combine to form involvement; commitment and knowledge form interest; and participation and knowledge form engagement. The final term, importance, then, assumes a very concrete, operational meaning subsuming Involvement, Interest and Engagement as well as Commitment, Participation and Knowledge (Super, 1980, p. 32.) It is our intention to use what we have called the Salience Inventory to try and measure commitment, participation and the overall importance given to each of the roles or major areas of activi-

ties. As you might expect, this is also at the experimental stage. The instrument has been refined and modified based on the international field trials. It now consists of three parts: a ten-item measure of commitment in each role, a ten-item measure of participation in each role and a twenty-item measure called the Role Values Grid which takes the strongest single item from the Values Inventory for each value and asks the subject to rate its importance.

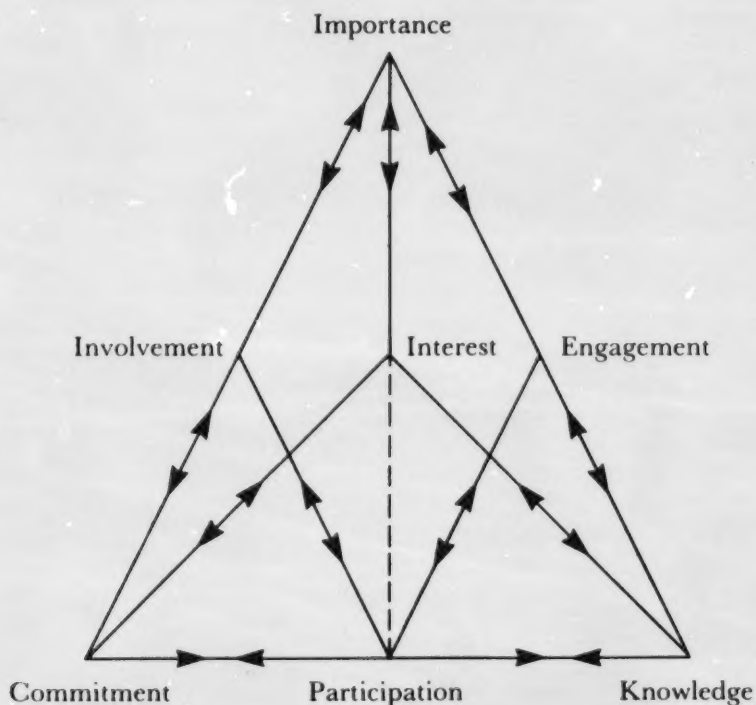


Figure 1, A Model of the Importance of Work or Other Life-Career Roles

Future Work

I have moved very quickly and superficially through the project and indicated some of our goals and objectives. It is now our intention to conduct another trial of the instruments in the spring of 1982 because the instruments

have been quite drastically refined since the major field trial. We will use 800 subjects who are in grade 10, grade 12, post-secondary institutions or who are full-time workers. We will again calculate measures of reliability, scale inter-correlations and factor analysis of the values as well as do inter-correlations between parts of the instruments. This will allow us to make changes to the instruments for their final formulation and design.

The members of the teams are meeting at the International Congress of Applied Psychologists next summer to report on this work and, at that time, plans will be made for the national studies which are to be conducted in the autumn of 1982. The Canadian goal for this stage of the research is to administer the inventories to a representative sample of the Canadian population between the ages of 15 and 65. The planning for this work is now underway but there are still a great many decisions to be made.

This part of the presentation has provided information on the progress of the Work Importance Study. A question which arises from this information is that of the usefulness of such work and its possible applications.

Changing Global Scene and its Implications for Planning Personal Futures

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1. Introduction

Personal futures are, as often as not, the product of the social environment. We react according to the social forces around us. And the social environment can change radically as the result of a technological invention and the developments that arise from it. You will be familiar with many of the inventions that have changed the way we live. Looking back over the panorama of history we see a number of these major forces of social change. Most of these have been technological, but in future some of the major forces of change will be environmental:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| -the invention of agriculture | -the motor car (and gasoline engine) |
| -the printing press | -the airplane |
| -the steam engine | -and more recently, the pill, |
| -electricity | the chip and the microcomputer |
| -the telephone | |

If we look at some of the expected, or possible, technological and environmental changes of the future, then we can speculate on social change with some sense of reality.

What I propose to do then, in this talk, is to start with

- an introduction to FUTURES STUDIES, as a background to the technology of looking at the future,
- then look at some of the GLOBAL ISSUES, that will have a fundamental effect on all our futures,
- explore the SOCIAL CHANGES that will result from these futures,
- then, draw the IMPLICATIONS of all this to our society and to ourselves, as counsellors, consultants, and to ourselves in a personal way.

I have prepared a paper as a resource material for this talk, and which I hope will be useful to you as resource material in your work. I will be speaking to this paper, but will not have time to cover it all, and still get time for some interaction and dialogue on the subject. Please feel free to interject with comments or questions at any time.

2. Futures Studies

One of the technological innovations of the last few years is the way of looking at the future. The term futurist is relatively new. It has gained some respectability lately, when just a few years ago I remember it had the connotations of the Cassandra or the astrologer. In fact I was told once, with some vehemence, when I ventured to introduce some futurist terms and techniques to a group of distinguished economists "we don't want any futurologists around here!"

Interest in, and concern for, the future has been an intensive preoccupation of mine since I read Eric Jantsch's book in 1967 "Technological Forecasting in Perspective". In that same year I read the Summer 1967 issue of *Daedalus* featuring the report of the Commission on the Year 2000 chaired by Daniel Bell. I discovered the existence of Marshall McLuhan and the Club of Rome about the same time. And, like Willis Harmon, the well known futurist at the Stanford Research Institute in California, I experienced a personal self-discovery and change of values in the process.

There are a number of milestones along the way that indicate the growth of public interest in futures studies.

- Kahn and Wiener's "The Year 2000" was published in 1967
- the "Futurist" magazine started in 1967
- the Club of Rome saw its beginnings in 1969
- Dennis and Donella Meadows "Limits to Growth" was published in 1972, which was the beginning for many people of an interest in future issues.
- the founding conference of the Canadian Association for Futures Studies was held in London in 1976 and I became the second president the year after that.
- many of you will remember The Global Conference on the Future in Toronto in 1980; this was co-sponsored by the World Futures Society in Washington, and the Canadian Association for Futures Studies.

There are certain criteria which distinguish futures studies from other studies and activities, such as long range planning. It will be helpful to state just what these are:

1. Futures studies are based on the concern for the future of mankind on

this planet. Realization of the finite limits of the planet at present rates of resource consumption and at present rates of population growth, underlie the concept of futures studies.

2. Futures studies are usually concerned with problems of the next one or more generations of mankind.
3. Futures studies are not necessarily forecasts, and are best prepared as alternate sets of possible or probable futures, as guideposts to current decision making.
4. Futures studies are not necessarily tied to defensible extrapolations of past trends, but may leap over discontinuities of the intermediate future to provide a less constrained view of what could lie ahead.
5. Futures studies because of their concern for mankind, are usually global, multi-disciplinary and include a total systems concept.

3. Major Futures Issues

There are certain beliefs and convictions I have about the future that I would like to present to you as a basis of discussion of changing social trends. These come from reading the literature, meeting with concerned and informed people, and attending conferences and seminars, over the last several years. These are shown below and will form the outline of the discussion which will follow:

1. The global future looks difficult
 - high population growth
 - food and resource shortages
 - environmental degradation
2. The advanced societies will be experiencing what Toffler describes as The Third Wave.
 - major technological growth and resulting social change; virtually a revolution, that we as yet do not fully understand.

We will examine these two issues, expand on them, then seek the implications for social change in Canada and what this means in relation to our own personal futures.

3.1 *The Global Issues*

Last summer I was engaged on a consulting project to select and review 20 of the most significant recent books on the future, to report on them and identify implications for Ontario. This turned out to be both a difficult and at the same time a rewarding project. I would like to share with you some of the more significant findings.

The findings were grouped under six headings, and were as follows:

I. Demographic

1. World population in 2000 will be 6¼ billion
2. Labour force of the world will be growing faster than the population
3. World urbanization will greatly increase
4. Canada in 2025 will be an aged society

II. Economic

1. Growth rates will slow down
2. Gap between the rich and poor nations will widen
3. Growth industries will be in high technology
4. World-wide unemployment will be large
5. Corporations will be more constrained
6. Markets in Canada will be affected by the aging population
7. Raw materials trading will be restricted — Canada needs new trading partners

III. Resources

1. Food
 - enough agricultural land, conditionally
 - malnutrition widespread
 - bio-systems already peaked
2. Energy
 - substitutes for oil required
 - direction is conservation, nuclear and coal
3. Raw materials
 - access
 - interdependence
 - foreign ownership
 - further processing

IV. Environment

1. Land
 - soil deterioration
 - deforestation
 - radioactive waste
2. Air
 - build up of CO₂
 - ozone layer
3. Water
 - quality deterioration
 - acid rain
 - ice caps

V. Technology

1. Electronic revolution
2. Technology and pollution
3. Robots
4. Technological unemployment

VI. Socio-political

Social

- resistance to environmental damage
- self-actualization
- new concepts of leisure and work
- family structure
- impacts of an aging society
- computer transforms life-styles

Political

- foreign aid must increase
- poor countries/: crowded, young, hungry and unemployed
- rich countries/: well-fed, older, well armed
- USA loses economic power; Japan increases
- government interventions increase
- interdependence resisted

(For commentary on these issues, see the APPENDIX)

These then, are the global issues, problems and opportunities that will be impacting on all our futures, as we identified them in the 50 futures books we read last summer. As mentioned before, some are difficulties, and some have an optimistic note.

The Downers, and mostly global or outside forces are:

- large population growth
- large scale hunger and poverty
- deteriorating environment
- resource shortages

The Uppers, and more internal forces are:

- technological innovation and growth
- the quality of our human resource base

This is the background of our future. Within these issues are powerful forces of change. In the advanced industrial countries we are already going through a social revolution. For the rest of this talk I will deal with the changes, mostly social, that are already in process, and draw on the works of Toffler, Betty Frieden and Daniel Yankelovich.

3.2 *Social Change in Developed Countries*

One of the most intriguing and articulate portrayals of the future changes — in society, in business and in fact the whole socio-economic-technological scene — is that of Alvin Toffler in his book "The Third Wave". Let me cover some of the points of this book, as a way of expanding on the identification of socio-political factors above.

The development of the concept of three waves, or periods of civilisation, is a useful one with which to view and better understand the future. I find myself thinking that such and such an attitude or action is "second wave" or "third wave". It is a useful bit of taxonomy.

Just to remind you, let me briefly identify what these three waves are:

... the First Wave is the age of agriculture which lasted for several thousand years. Characteristic was the family rooted in the soil, with low mobility, educated at home, producing most of their own needs.

... the Second Wave began with the industrial revolution in the late 1700s. The family was broken up with father "working", mother staying at home, and the children off to school. Institutional life began; the school, the factory, the office, the hospital, the old folk's home. Industry was characterized by standardization, synchronization, centralization, concentration and maximization. Bigness was beautiful.

... the Third Wave began when white collar workers in the U.S. outnumbered blue collar workers in the 1960s. The old patterns of industrialization began to change with the revolution of the young and the blacks in the 60s and with the introduction of the pill. The key descriptive words of the Third Wave are: variety, diversity, individualism, decentralization and Small is beautiful.

Let us deal with the subject under four headings: Economic, Industry and Business, Family, and Individual.

Economic

The old economics of production and trading of goods is becoming obsolete. There is more to GNP than this. Services are becoming more and more significant in the national economy; and now a new sector is fast rising — Information. Soon, with Telidon and the personal computer, the market for the production and trading of information will rival the goods sector. And so it should be if we are to control pollution and manage the diminishing supply of resources — including energy.

Toffler created a new word — the "prosumer" — to represent the person who does his own work, and thus becomes the producer and consumer. This process is not included in the GNP yet represents a growing, but invisible, sector of the economy. The Canadian pioneers and early farmers were in this

category. A new economics is called for, yet no one, so far, seems to be able to clarify what this should be.

Typical of the new age is the family described by Toffler which works at home in the "electronic cottage" using the computer and electronic communication media to create their source of income. This, as Toffler says, serves to reunite the family and reduce its dependence on outside institutions which were (and still are to a great extent) characteristic of the industrial age. I have been a member of an electronic network for several years (Electronic Information Exchange out of New Jersey), accessing it from my computer at home, and know of several families or couples who earn their living by using the home computer and the EIES network. Toffler discovered this network himself during the writing of *The Third Wave*, and bought a computer and wrote the last part of his book using the word processor program.

Industry and Business

Industrial change shows a move from the basic industries of the Second Wave — steel, coal, rail, rubber — to the high technology industries of the computer, the "chip", bio sciences, oceans and space. Organizations are changing too. The old characteristics of bigness, centralization, standardization are changing, and will change more so in the future. The "organization man" is changing, or if he isn't, he and she soon will be! More women are in executive suite, greater participation is expected in management, more individual wants are being expressed and fought for. Social pressures from outside the company, and the introduction of electronics to the factory and office are the major factors of change. Markets and distribution systems are changing rapidly too, and will continue to do so. Chrysler couldn't cope, and General Motors, according to DeLorean in his expose "On a Clear Day You Can See General Motors" describes how the large motor manufacturer missed the move to small energy efficient automobiles. The only thing that seems to be hampering change is the people who are in charge of it!

Family

This is a big change area and is to me, the exciting change opportunity! The potential for human growth lies in the interpersonal relations that a person has. The most intimate group that an individual is part of, is the family. When I say family, I do not necessarily mean the traditional man-woman-child legal entity. The Third Wave family can take a variety of forms, as Toffler points out. The role of women — and also the role of men — has more variety and potential for fulfillment with the new self growth and risk-taking attitudes, some of which result in the new family structures.

Betty Frieden in her recent book "The Second Stage" refers to two stages

in the liberation of women. She says that the first stage, which was the subject of her first book "The Feminine Mystique", was the discovery that women had been conned by society into staying home and building the nest. After the first war Rosie the Rivetter went back into the home. After the second war she stayed on at her job or got another one, and remained in the work force. But it was not all good; the women still carried on with the chores at home and assumed the responsibility for maintaining the home and its services. Now the second stage of women's liberation is that the men are beginning to assume their share of the housework and the home is a fully cooperative enterprise. This is a form of liberation of men, from the stereotyped role of the "head of the house".

All this is said within the context of familial relations. Not all of us are in family groups, but an increasing number are living as individuals. Let us look at the changing future then from the point of view of the individual.

Individual

We have seen that the Third Wave will bring changes in the economy, in industry and business and the family. We will now look at what the New Person of the Third Wave will be like.

The New Person will grow up in an environment where individualism is encouraged. This breaking of the bonds of tradition, custom and respect for authority, began with a bang in the 60s. Individuals, of all ages, but mostly the young, broke away from conformity and discovered their own potential. Many business men copped out of the corporate rat race and asked themselves what it was all for. It became fashionable to do your own thing. Values and attitudes to work, love, leisure and education changed.

The Third Wave person will be characterized by:

- higher education, although individuals will choose their own level on this.
- better health: fitness programs and health food regimes will be more popular.
- high communication skills: with less respect for authority the young people, will communicate more easily, and thus be more creative.
- shorter period of adolescence: the young will start work earlier (rites of passage for Jewish youth was age 13 marked by the Bar Mitzvah) and get their education as they go through life; they will choose and live with mates sooner and with more flexibility.
- more variety of experiences; they will change jobs often and never stay in one job all of one's working career; will want money, and be willing to work for it, but will not work for money alone; they will seek balance in their lives, between work and play.

A World Turned Upside Down

In his book "New Rules" Daniel Yankelovich says that we live in a world that has been turned upside down; and tomorrow is not going to look like yesterday. In fact, tomorrow — to the extent that research data can yield clues about it — is being shaped by a cultural revolution that is transforming the rules of American life and moving us into wholly uncharted territory, not back to the lifestyles of the past. He estimates that 80% of Americans are searching for new values and new ways of responding to the environment around them. The old values of respect for authority, duty, self-sacrifice, ritual, obedience are being dropped in the search for personal fulfillment. Yankelovich takes care to warn us that the road to self fulfillment is not as rosy as it may look — risk taking and adventure-seeking may end up in triumph or disaster. He adds that the search for self-fulfillment is not a yo-yo riding up and down on the string of the economy: it is in itself a powerful force working its way into the basic fabric of our society.

Six years ago I began to go through this period of self discovery, and realized how much undeveloped potential there was in my own life. It was at the same time exciting, stressful but intensely rewarding. I discovered the principle of "Awareness plus Risk equals Growth", and took up down hill skiing, white water canoeing and back packing in the mountains, getting a personal computer, and experienced many other personal adventures. Age now, to me, is just a number. How I feel and where I can go in life are the important issues. And it all looks pretty exciting — and I am better prepared now than I was in my 20s - or 30s!

Characteristics of the new person, and the new generation are shown in the following Table:

Characteristics of the New Generation

MORE OF

Sexual freedom
Working women,
 women executives
New marriage styles
Initiative
Acting out your feelings
Health & fitness regimes
Consciousness raising
Unemployment
Part time work,
Changing jobs, and careers

LESS OF

Protestant work ethic
Duty, courtesy, ritual, self-
 sacrifice, obedience, respect
 for authority
Children, large families
Lives of quiet desperation
Big is beautiful

My present consulting assignment takes me into the federal penitentiaries - where I am interviewing supervisors of the industrial shops. They tell me that the inmates are now younger than was the case 10 years ago. I asked them what is their biggest problem: they all responded with the same answer - it is getting the inmates to do a day's work; many of these young people have never had a regular job, and do not know how to work.

These then, are the promises and problems of the future. A world with an unbalanced and oversupply of people and an undersupply of resources, and at the same time, a great human and social growth potential.

Now let us look at one scenario of the future, horizon 2010, of a certain "familial" group. This is not necessarily a spectacular or unusual picture, because so much of it is in operation to-day albeit in isolated pockets. However it presents a coherent picture of a household of tomorrow operating in the information society.

4. Scenario of the Year 2010

Because of the high cost of housing in a sluggish economy, and expensive energy, more people are living in "familial" groups.

The household we will look at is in a rehabilitated house with four bedrooms; it has a communication centre and office in the lower or "basement" floor; the familial group is structured as follows:

- the Headship of the household is shared between a man of 40 and a woman of 32, each with their own children.

- the man of 40 has 2 children of his own, a son of 22 and a son of 17; the first shares his life with a lady of 25, and the second is part of the household, with his own bed-sitting-office room.

- the lady partner of the headship, 32, has a son that is not part of the household; he is taking a degree course in genetic engineering while working on salary and in residence at Consolidated Foods Inc.

- there is a grandfather of 60, and lady of 45 living together, and a great grandmother of 82, whom everybody calls by her first name, and is the active administrator and co-ordinator of the household.

This is a mature family, and everyone works even the 17 year old, although he spends a good portion of his time on educational courses. The two Headship people earn their income by developing programs on the computer which are written and merchandized on the electronic network out of the house.

Grandpa also works, in an oceanology research company, having obtained an updated degree in his late 50s. He puts in a 30 hour week, selecting his

own times, and continues with his learning following a laser disc new technology course in his field of expertise. He is in good health, skiing in the winter, and hiking and canoeing in the summer. His companion of 45 is in the publishing business, but most of this is electronic and much of her time is spent on her personal computer from the home, with two or three trips a week to the uptown office of the company for meetings and personal interviews with company staff and clients. She has no car, using public rapid transit. In fact there is only one car, a small one, in the family, which is used sparingly on a planned sharing basis.

The 22 year old, son of the Head, and his companion, are presently away on the social draft, which requires young people to spend 2 years of their life before they reach 25 on designated social work for the community or country. They may do this as a couple, or individually, and may have a choice of general field of interest, or national or international service. When they return they will remain as part of this household, and reactivate their consulting business. This is in the field of information sciences, on how businesses can get the most effective use from electronic technology in view of the many and confusing new developments in this field.

The 17 year old, although not formally associated with a young lady, is going out steady with plans to marry soon. They have no economic problem, since he has been working for 3 years now and has saved and invested his money judiciously. His education is being planned by the local educational authority, with a program that takes 20 hours a week using electronic media, personally operated from home, with planned visits to men and women of learning, and to organizations related to his field of interest. He will be getting his diploma from the state institution when he passes the recognized levels of learning sometime in the next year. After that he will have another continuing program mapped out for him, to take him further into the professional field. His employer provides support for this program by supplying practical field work projects, in-house seminars (on a variety of topics) and giving time off with pay for this upgrading process.

Household work is minimized because of the design of the house and the electronic aids, but what there is, is shared on a program basis. Everybody contributes since there is no "women's work". Income is contributed to the costs on a percentage basis, and records kept on the computer accounting program. Most shopping, banking and messaging are done on the computer.

5. Significance of All This in Planning Personal Futures

The point of looking far ahead into the future is to help understand the present and, to be practical, to shape our current decision making. Past experience is the usual basis of projecting into the future — but these days that is

not good enough. If we use Second Wave thinking to interpret today's social upheavals we will not be able to counsel others on how they should deal with their future — much less our own.

Young people are particularly restless to-day, as evidenced by use of drugs, participation in liberalized sex, vandalism, shoplifting, absenteeism, may well be the result of maturing early, with a kind of street wisdom, locked into the constraints of a Second Wave education in an institutionalized environment. Their ancestors worked for a living at 15 and felt there was a meaning in life and a meaningful role for them. Young people are now sent off to school — institutionalized — as if they were not needed in society. Their contemporaries in the Third World, although poor to the level of starvation, are needed by their families and society to support their community. How do we, in our advanced technological society, cope with this? Well, the first thing, I believe is to be aware that the present social system and environment is in the painful process of change, and we are seeing the birth pangs of a totally new society. And we have to learn how to put the new technology together and make it work for us. As we have seen, both Toffler and McKelovitch declare this as a cultural and social revolution.

The older generation are inclined to fall into their stereotyped roles. How often do you hear men refer to their mates as "the wife" as if she were some object or thing. Why not refer to her by her name, as if she were indeed a person, even a partner? And as the children grow up the parental role should change, and mother and father be George and Mary and not Mom and Dad. In this way they can relate to each other as adults — with a new respect for each other — and greatly enrich the relationship. To carry out these changes requires for some, major changes in attitudes and values. And this also includes, that the older generation keep up with the younger by keeping on growing. It isn't enough to change the names that the members of the family call each other. The change of nomenclature is only the outward symbol of the inner change that must be performed by the older generation. Awareness and growth are essential to developing our full potential. I wonder how many marriages have foundered because one spouse outgrew the other? Should they separate then, and one — or both — live lives of quiet desperation and unfulfillment? Better of course, to realize what is going on and take deliberate and courageous steps to realign the relationship. In business terms this protects your investment — of time and emotions.

I feel that it is important for us as parents, educators, counsellors, consultants, to be on the leading edge of the new technology, and to seek out an increased awareness of the full potential of the new information society. We must be careful not to be found still fighting last year's battles. Many of you may be already involved with the tools of the new technology, but if not, it is

vital to seek out the new equipment and gain a hands-on experience to get a more realistic feeling of what lies ahead, and the potential for change.

This paper has been done on the word processing program of my personal computer, which I have had at home for the last 3 years. It is not only a word processor, but an accountant, a mailman, and a public library of information through an electronic network. This world of electronics and the chip is here, and must be experienced to be appreciated. If we know that a laser video disc is available to-day, that will hold on one 12" disc the size and shape of a phonograph record, the whole of the Encyclopedia Britannica, then what does this mean to the education process, and the population as a whole? Perhaps not much by itself, but when this is combined with all the support systems presently available, then the impact is surely worth serious attention!

A summary of the issues of the future that face us, and the appropriate responses goes like this:

The Issues

Global problems of food,
population

and resource shortages

Social changes

Family relationships

Information technology

Business changes

The Response

"Think globally, act locally"

Seek the best of the new ways

Strive for personal growth

Get in on the action. Invest in your-
self, buy a computer!

Read, learn, visit and grow

If I were asked to put in a few words what are the most critical steps we must take towards planning a personal future, in view of this socio-technological revolution, I would simply say,

- take steps to fully explore the magnitude of the changes around us, and
- take risks in getting involved in growth and change at the personal level.

In closing let me refer to a picture Toffler portrays in his book *The Third Wave*;

He describes the frustration of the parents of a young man who is trying in vain to find a job. They have both just returned from a hard 9 to 5 day at the office, and the young man throws down the want ads in the paper angry at not being able to find the kind of work and working environment he would like, and faced with having to get a routine job to survive in this society. The parents in desperation exclaim "When are you going to face the real world?" This, Toffler declares, is not just the generation gap; it is more than that; it is the fact that both parties are talking about "real worlds", but different ones.

Selected Reading List

This list of reading references is not intended to be a comprehensive set of reference books on the content of this paper, but some of the more interesting documents I have come across in the development of this paper.

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Appendix

Commentary on Global Issues

I Demographic

1. *Population.* Almost all studies show a population forecast for 2000 at around 6¼ billion; and in some forecasts the population will double in 30 years. The problem here is the distribution of the population increase — all to the already overpopulated and poorer countries.
2. *Labour force.* When population doubles in 30 years, the work force is forecasted to triple. The labour force will then be growing faster than the population, and mostly in the poorer, less industrialized countries. Young people will be gravitating to the cities looking for work that isn't there. Potentially an explosive situation.
3. *World urbanization.* Several studies forecast that the population of Mexico City will reach 30 million by the year 2000. Other cities of the world will be increasing in a similar manner. Most of this will arise from not only a basic increase in population but also the migration of rural populations into urban areas as health improves and work opportunities decrease in the rural environment.
4. *Canada in 2025 an aged society.* After 2011 the over 65s will constitute 15% to 20% of the population. The financing of pensions and social support required — housing, hospitalization, health care — will need to be provided by a proportionately much smaller working population than exists to-day. This suggests many social changes in care and behaviour of the elderly; and changing markets with such a large percentage of the population at the subsistence level.

II Economic

1. *Growth rates.* Economic growth will slow down as energy costs rise and raw materials become more scarce and expensive. Costs of doing business will increase throughout the world due to economic nationalism, environmental protection, and rising demands and costs of social infrastructure for an additional 2 to 3 billion people by the year 2000.
2. *Gap between rich and poor nations.* Population is increasing faster than GNP

per capita in most of the poorer and more populous nations of the world. China with a low GNP per capita has succeeded in reversing this trend. India and Indonesia do not seem to have. The rich are getting richer — through lower birth rates and high technology — and the poor are getting poorer.

3. *Growth industries in high technology.* The growth industries in the advanced countries of the world will be in microelectronics, bio-technology, oceans and space. As Toffler points out, the Second Wave industries will decline — rail, textile, steel, auto, rubber, as consumers of large amounts of energy and generators of huge amounts of waste and pollution, characterized by long production runs, low skill requirements, standardized goods and centralization of controls. These Second Wave industries will move to the “developing” countries, and be supplanted by high technology industries in the developed countries. Economic growth in a country will depend largely on the ability to adjust to these new phenomena.

4. *World-wide unemployment.* Unemployment in the *advanced* countries will be caused by high technology, robots, office automation, and high costs of operations in a world of inflation and moderate or low economic growth. Unemployment in the *poorer* countries will be increasing because of better public health in rural areas, and the migration into urban areas, and low skill levels of the work force aggravated by the high cost of energy. The socio-political impacts of these phenomena will be indeed significant.

5. *Corporations will be more constrained.* Government regulations will inevitably increase; social activism will continue to rise against corporate profits and corporate behaviour; internal performance will be constrained as individuals and organized internal groups desire and demand more “rights”.

6. *Markets and the aging population.* In Canada, the increasing proportion of over 65s will have strong influence on markets as they will generally be living on reduced incomes. Many will, it is predicted, be living close to the poverty line and not be big spenders. These are the people of the baby boom who were the youth cult and the big spenders of the 1960s.

7. *Raw materials trading will be restricted.* Nations will be tending to protect their natural resources and restrict exports, either by regulation or by price. We saw the beginning of this with OPEC in 1973. In the book *NATURAL RESOURCES AND US/CANADA RELATIONS* Carl Beigie and others noted this tendency and the trend towards *less* national interdependence, and more nationalism in regard to raw materials within national boundaries. For these reasons the authors suggest that Canada seek new trading partners and be less dependent, in both imports and exports of raw materials, upon the United States.

III Resources

1. Food.

-“enough agricultural land, conditionally.” Many writers feel that soil erosion and “parking lots” will consume the agricultural land needed to grow the food for an additional two to four billion people in the next several decades. An increasing proportion of agricultural land will be used for growing energy crops in the near future. However a group of researchers in OECD concluded that there is enough agricultural land to feed the world *if* the political entities of the world manage land resources effectively. I believe this will take place, once there is sufficient realization of its importance and appropriate action is taken.

-“malnutrition is widespread.” Most observers believe that food supply and, more importantly, its distribution will be inadequate to feed the ever increasing population. Hunger and, to be more realistic, starvation will be rampant by the year 2000. Strange, how this seems so inevitable, yet so little seems to be going on to prevent it. This illustrates, perhaps, that the real problems of the future are human and political.

-“bio-systems already peaked.” The food support systems of our globe — forests, fisheries, grasslands, croplands — have all peaked in the last decade in their output per capita. Population is growing faster than the supply. These points are made by the Worldwatch Institute in Washington, which suggests that the real significance of this is generally not realized by those engaged in the exploitation of such resources.

2. Energy

The energy issues are well known, although a decade ago most people thought that the fossil fuels would last forever — or just had no occasion to think about it. There is a consensus that coal will provide all the energy we need for many decades to come, yet there are serious constraints to its wide use. The priorities of energy use emphasis seem to be, first conservation, then nuclear, and then coal.

3. Raw Materials

-access. As noted above, nations will be more protective of their natural resources and set up regulations and price levels to discourage the access to them. This will be for both outside buyers and those within the country concerned.

-interdependence. Again as noted above, nations will be more aggressively protective of their natural resources and seeking *less* dependence on other nations. At the same time they will be seeking a larger variety of sources for

their materials to be less dependent upon one, or too few, countries.

-foreign ownership. Canada, following the trend of other countries, is nationalizing many of its resources. We have come a long way in nationalizing oil. We have already nationalized (or provincialized) much of the potash production in Saskatchewan. This tendency will increase.

-further processing. Again, Canada, like other countries will be continually pressing for extractors of raw materials to carry out more processing within the province and the country, before exporting.

IV Environment

1. Land

-soil is continually being broken down and washed out by the rivers to the sea. Inefficient soil culture, over-grazing and excessive use of chemical fertilizer are contributory causes.

-deforestation is a world-wide phenomenon; commercial logging, in both temperate and tropical forests, slash and burn agriculture, and using wood for fuel in poorer agricultural areas, are major contributors.

-radioactive waste is a concern more of a political and social nature than a technological one, but suggests as yet unresolved problems of a long term nature.

2. Air

-the build-up of CO₂ is considered one of the most critical problems of the future by many researchers, since it will create the "green-house effect" heating up the climate. This will be aggravated by the use of coal to replace oil, unless new methods of using this form of energy are developed.

-ozone layer. The destruction or depletion of the ozone layer is a second important factor in the preservation of our atmospheric environment. This is caused by the catalytic action of certain chemicals in the upper atmosphere. Exhausts of supersonic aircraft contribute to this condition as do, in a more serious way, thermonuclear explosions. Depletion of the ozone layer could have more destructive effect on non-combatant nations than radioactive fall-out, according to Alexander King in *STATE OF THE PLANET*.

3. Water

-quality deterioration. This refers to both chemical and thermal pollution, and loss of retained oxygen necessary for aquatic life. A heightened awareness and increased expenditures of public funds and government regulations will be required to maintain ecological stability. The Love Canal comes to mind in this context. Some examples of water clean-up show the potential of water quality improvement — e.g. the Thames River in England.

-acid rain. Acid rain is a world problem arising from industrial activity, and now a significant Canadian problem with international complications. Many Northern Ontario lakes are already "dead" from the decades of gradual but persistent acid accumulation.

-ice caps. Raising the world atmospheric temperature by 1 degree C would melt the polar ice caps sufficiently to significantly raise ocean levels.

V Technology

1. The electronic revolution will have tremendous impact on our social and economic lives. Can we cope? Is it a Cornucopia or a Pandora's Box? In all the pessimistic prospects for the future the microelectronic revolution could be the bright ray of hope — if we manage it well. The changes in our lives, from the impact of the "chip" are already apparent — automation in the office, robots in industry, the computer in the home and everywhere!

2. Technology and pollution. Technology can, as a secondary effect, *produce* pollution (e.g. fertilizer, pulp mill effluent, nuclear energy), or it can be put to work to *clean up* pollution. It can be both sinner and saviour, according to how we as a society administer its application.

3. Robots are a fast rising phenomenon in the steady trend to get machines to do human work, with the resultant enormous increase in labour productivity. First we had mechanization, then automation, now robots, all part of the same phenomenon. The trick is to learn to enjoy the benefits.

4. Technological unemployment. Robots and the increase in labour productivity provide the potential for more leisure time. What do we, as a society, do with this extra time — study? travel? participate in hobbies? build our own houses? write books? or sit around "unemployed", go on strike for more social benefits, initiate demonstrations against the system? There will be considerable stress in society before these problems are worked out to our advantage.

VI Socio-political

Social

-resistance to environmental damage. Strength of resistance to forces that impact on the environment will increase. Social activism and resistance to other impacts of change — social, political — will also be on the rise.

-self-actualization. This is the top of Maslow's scale of motivators (physiological needs, safety, love, esteem and self-actualization), and as the needs of this hierarchy are successively met there will be more and more people who will be seeking satisfaction of the topmost of them, self-actualization. This can be constructive or disruptive to a stable society but could well be directed

towards the achieving society and the acquisition of goods and services. It suggests also that boring, routine jobs will no longer be accepted.

-new concepts of leisure and work. As we enjoy the affluence of higher productivity from the application of new technology, there will be more structural unemployment. We associate prosperity with jobs, and more jobs, and haven't learned as a society to enjoy (and finance) leisure. We need to re-define the term "unemployment" and "work" and introduce new concepts into the national accounts and the GNP to keep a better score on the state of the economy and our real wealth. Toffler recognizes this in his description of "the invisible economy" where people do their own home maintenance and this "work" doesn't get recorded in the GNP. If an author works at home, or a musician writes a song, both are creating new wealth and neither is considered in the work force or recorded in the GNP. In the information economy much of the input will be missed in the national accounts as the boundaries between leisure, fun, education and work are less clearly defined, and many people work at home and in the informal economy.

-family structure. Since the development of the "pill" and the discovery of doing one's own thing, people are self-actualizing more. This not only breaks up traditional families but creates new ones. Social and economic impacts from such changes in values and attitudes are large and not likely to diminish.

-impacts on an aging society. Because of the high proportion of older people, particularly in Canada, but also in other developed countries, retirement will not only be difficult to finance but the other social changes will make retirement an undesirable and even boring choice. More over 65s will be working, out of both choice and necessity. And this will be good for both the individuals — who will be in better health — and the economy.

-computer transforms life-styles. The chip and the personal computer will bring the information society into the home in a way that will transform our lives. The present addiction to the attention-grabbing television tube will be replaced by the equally absorbing computerized information-communication centre in every home. Shopping, financial transactions, world-wide messaging, information retrieval, education and entertainment will all be available from this centre. People with home computers and computer terminals are now having to make decisions as to the need for more than one per home, the demand is so strong once people have tasted blood! The systems are *already* here and available.

Political

-foreign aid must increase. The 1981 emphasis on North-South dialogue

shows the concern for the plight of the under developed nations and the recognition of the large, and increasing, gap between the rich and the poor nations.

-poor countries/rich countries. The people in the poor countries at the end of the century will be crowded, young, hungry and unemployed; and the rich countries well-fed, old and well-armed. This is an explosive situation that must be dealt with by the richer countries, in their own self-interest.

-the USA will be losing economic power to Japan, as Britain did between the two world wars. The Japanese have won leadership first in cameras, then cars, motorcycles, and now microelectronics.

-government interventions will increase as the economy becomes more complex and the components of society become more interdependent. Government will therefore inevitably grow in both absolute and relative terms.

-interdependence of nations. Nations and provincial states will make vigorous attempts to be self-sufficient and less dependent upon each other in both raw materials and in all aspects of economics and governance.